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A Catalogue of the Lives, with the  
Names of the several Gentlemen by

THE  
LIVES  
OF  
Illustrious Men.



A Catalogue of the Lives, with the  
Names of the several Gentlemen by  
whom they are Done into English.

Miltiades.	<i>Athenian</i>	Mr. Tullie.
Themistocles.	<i>D.</i>	Mr. Gardiner.
Aristides.	<i>D.</i>	Mr. Mitchell.
Pausanias	<i>Lacedæmonian</i>	Mr. Hoy.
Cimon.	<i>Athenian</i>	Mr. Creed.
Isander.	<i>Lacedæmonian</i>	Mr. Kircheruall.
Alcibiades.	<i>Athenian</i>	Mr. Peers.
Thrasybulus.	<i>D.</i>	Mr. H. Gilman.
Conon.	<i>D.</i>	Mr. Jenefer.
Dion.	<i>Syracusan</i>	Mr. Clark.
Iphicrates.	<i>Athenian</i>	Mr. Allam.
Chabrias.	<i>D.</i>	Mr. Kennett.
Timotheus.	<i>D. The Honourable</i>	Mr. Booth.
Datames.	<i>Carian</i>	Mr. Edwards.
Epaminondas.	<i>Theban</i>	Mr. Lane.
Pelopidas.	<i>D.</i>	Mr. Creech.
Agésilæus.	<i>Lacedæmonian</i>	Mr. Scott.
Eumenes.	<i>Cardian</i>	Mr. Ch. Allestree.
Phocion.	<i>Athenian</i>	Mr. Todd.
Timoleon.	<i>Corinthian</i>	Mr. Cary.
Hamilcar.	<i>Cartaginian</i>	Mr. Brideok.
Hannibal.	<i>D. The Honourable</i>	Mr. Finch.
Cato.	<i>Roman</i>	Mr. Robinson.
P. Atticus.	<i>Roman</i>	Mr. Morgan.





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THE  
LIVES  
OF

Illustrious Men.

Written in LATIN by

*Cornelius Nepos,*

And done into ENGLISH by the

Honourable Mr. *Finch,*

Mr. *CREECH,*

AND OTHER

Eminent GENTLEMEN of *Oxford.*

---

THE FOURTH EDITION.

---

To which is added,

A more Just TRANSLATION of the most  
FAMOUS KINGS.

---

Illustrated with COPPER CUTS.

---

L O N D O N :

Printed for *Tho. Shelmerdine* at the *Rose-Tree*,  
and *Tho. Tebb* at the *One Flower-de-Luce*, in  
*Little-Britain*; and *A. Bettesworth* at the *Red-*  
*Lion* in *Pater-Noster-Row.* 1723.

THE  
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Written in Latin by

Corneilius Nepos.

And abridged in English by the

Honourable Mr. Finch.

M. R. F. C. H.

AND OTHER

Excellent Gentlemen of Great



A more full & complete Edition of the same

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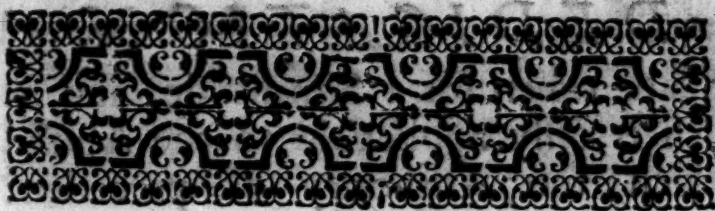
LONDON.

Printed for J. G. & J. W. in Pall Mall.

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Printed by J. G. & J. W. in Pall Mall.

1753.



To the Right Honourable

**JAMES**  
**Earl of Abingdon,**  
**LORD LIEUTENANT**  
**OF THE**  
**County of Oxford, &c.**

MY LORD,

**T**HESE Lives of Cornelius  
Nepos, which I now Present  
your Lordship in *English*,  
have had the good Fortune  
to survive in their Original (the *Latin*)  
seventeen hundred Years: And tho'  
the Observation of the excellent Lord  
Bacon be very ingenious, *That Time is*  
*like a River, which bears up the Stubble*  
*and such light things, but lets the more*  
*weighty and substantial sink*; yet must

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this be taken for a Similitude, and as such is only applicable to the Abuses which the Authority of precedent Ages, as well as other humane Concerns, is and may be subject to. For to suppose, that those things which have past the Test of the wisest and severest Ages, have at last nothing of intrinsic Value in themselves, but owe the long possessing of Fame to a Hit of Fortune, to the Humour or tame Obsequiousness of a long Succession of Admirers, is so bold an Attempt upon the Reason of Mankind, that he that makes it, *must either have much of the God, or a great deal of the Fool.* By invincible Argument to demonstrate the Mistakes of the learned World in all its Stages, requires a Soul of a divine Perspicacity, clear from those Incumbrances that have misguided the Prospect of other Mortals. To oppose a single capricious Opinion to the collected Force of so many Mens Judgment, looks like the Hero in the Play, or the Knight-Er-rant in the Romance; who, with two Legs and two Arms, fights and routs.

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routs whole Millions. I do not (my Lord) apologize for our Author, as if he need beg a Blessing from Antiquity, or wanted the Testimonials of precedent Ages to support his Credit: Had he been written in this time he is translated, there is Worth enough in him to recommend him to all Lovers of History. *Cornelius Nepos* liv'd in an Age that had the greatest Taste of good Sense of any possibly since the Creation. Eloquence did not then consist in the gaudy trimming of Metaphors, or the forc'd Acuteness of a short cut Period; but good Sense, naturally and cleanly express'd, was the Language *Augustus* and his Court encourag'd. Our Author cannot indeed pretend to the Politeness of *Cicero*; but yet he has nothing but what is manly and strong; and if my weak Judgment informs me right, there runs through his Writings a genteel Vein of speaking unaffectedly, which declares him a Man remov'd above the *Pedant* or *Plebeian*. Here it must be confess'd, he is now and then rough in the Period, and negligent in the

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Expression; but the judicious *Quintilian* allows this to be sometimes a Beauty; and 'tis the Opinion of most Criticks, that if there be any Fault in *Tully* himself, 'tis that he is too set and formal in his Style. There are some Faces that are very exact in the Symmetry of their Parts, and the Mixture of Colour, and yet they are not pleasing; while on the other Hand, there are others in which Nature seems to have made agreeable Mistakes: Eloquence is only the Beauty of Language, in which a too formal Observance of Exactness is disgusting. There is as much Difference between the genteel Practice of Rhetorick, and the heavy Regularity that arises purely from the Attendance upon its Rules, as there is between the genteel Address of a Gentleman, and the fulsome Compliment of a Schoolmaster. Such is his Style, that it seems to give *Cornelius Nepos* a Pre-  
tence to the Patronage of your Lordship, whose Ancestors have reflected greater Honour upon Learning and learned Societies, than they could  
ever

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ever receive from them. 'Tis in the great Name of the *Bartu's* we meet the two greatest Ornaments of Mankind conjoin'd, Learning and Nobility; and in that generous noble Blood, not only Honour, but Wisdom are convey'd. The Reason *Petranius Arbitr* gives, why good Sense and true Reason were in his Age in the Decline, is, *Because every Man must fish with such Baits he thinks will take*; but says the same ingenious Author, *We have lost the generous Palate*. Had your Lordship liv'd in that Time, there could have been no occasion for this general Complaint. In your Lordship, a *Virgil* or a *Horace* might have found an *Agrippa* or *Mecenas*, who did not only receive the Compliments of those great Men, but understood their Worth. Our Author has in short drawn the greatest Heroes that *Athens*, *Sparta*, *Thebes*, *Corinth*, and even *Afric* it self, could boast; and 'tis to him that *Rome* does owe its *Atticus*. It often happens, that a Prince is better represented by his Coins than by his Statues; so,

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without detracting from the just Praise of others, *Nepos* may possibly give as lively an Idea of an *Alcibiades* or *Themistocles*, as those who have drawn out their Descriptions to a greater Length; for as in Mens Faces, so in their Actions, there are certain peculiar Airs that distinguish one from another: If you hit these, you give the Character as effectually, as if your Canvass was as large as the Object, and you took in every Hair. The Design of History is to instruct by Example, and correct the Infirmities of Life; to trace out the Roads by which great Men arriv'd at Fame, and the Rocks they have split against. All the Reward we can pay to deficient Virtue is a grateful Remembrance of it, and Vice is a Detestation to Posterity. *Phocion's* Beneficence will be an eternal Monument: *Eumenes* his unshaken Loyalty to the Posterity of his Prince will never be forgotten: And *Alcibiades* his tender Passion to an ungrateful Country will last as long as Sense remains in the World. Such Examples may afford

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your Lordship's leisure Hours a Divertisement, but cannot pretend to direct. The History of your own Family is a Treasure of Greatness and Bravery, which affords Instances (of both Sexes) for every Virtue and Duty of Life. And here we cannot enough admire the inimitable Gallantry of *Katharine* Dutchess of *Suffolk*, whose Zeal to the Protestant Religion at least came up to the Example of the most primitive Confessors; who supported all the Variety of her numerous Afflictions with the Meekness of her own Sex, and the Courage of ours: while every Country prov'd more hospitable to that admirable Lady than her own; and Foreign Nations thought themselves oblig'd to reverence that Virtue which we could not bear. Nor need I instance in those Heroes of your Family, to whose noble Achievements the Great *Henry* of *France* was so highly oblig'd, and the *Dutch* owe so great a part of their Liberty. Nor perhaps was the very Attempt of civilizing *Ireland* an Undertaking of less

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less Gallantry and Spirit, since 'tis easier to create than restore. When at length the Unhappiness of an headstrong Nation recall'd them from Foreign to Domestick Wars, with how much Courage, how much Loyalty did the Heroick *Lindsey* espouse his Royal Master's Interest! He despised both the Allurements and Forces of a Faction, then almost irresistible, and receiv'd the Assaults of the rebellious Army, as unmov'd as an *Isthmus* does the shock of contesting Waves. He oppos'd his Person to the most eminent Dangers in the Defence of oppress'd Majesty, and died like one that had a true Value for Life, and knew how advantageously a few Minutes of Life were chang'd for an Immortality of Fame.

To be Nobly Born is (my Lord), questionless one of the greatest worldly Happinesses kind Heaven bestows; and Nature for several Ages seems to prepare and refine the Blood of a Family, that she may at last work out and introduce one perfectly Great Man. That this is your Lordship's Case we have  
reason:

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reason to believe, in whom all the Virtues, that are thriftily divided amongst others, are united. Well then may *Cornelius Nepos* be proud of your Lordship's Name to lead up his Heroes, and protect those that were, while they liv'd, the Patriots of their Country.

Each Virtue takes its Proportion from the Exigences of Time and Place. He that stands upon the secure Shore, and undauntedly views the ungovern'd Rage of the Ocean, does not, on this account, deserve the Praise of a valiant Man; but he is the Master of true Courage, that all the time sedately steers the Ship; endeavours to be safe, yet fears not to meet Death in its most dreadful Shape. Amongst the polluted Spawn of Pamphlets which have crawl'd about during this Ferment of the Government, there have been a few who have compared it to a Ship toss'd by dangerous Waves. Let the Design of these Parable-makers be what it will (as in most of them it has been bad enough) yet the Similitude is to the purpose; and your Lordship has had no small Share in preserving this leaky Vessel

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Vessel from Destruction. 'Tis an Observation too well known among Politicians, *That the Virtue of a Prince may sometimes turn to his Destruction;* of which we have had a sad Example in the blessed Martyr Charles the First, who suffer'd and died for being Good; and the same Jews that acted that sad Tragedy, design'd a second upon the Son of his Loins and Inheritor of his Virtues; as if they were resolv'd by repeated Experiences to revoke that Axiom of the Moralists, *That the natural Effect of Benevolence and Goodness, even in this World, is a reciprocal Love and Felicity.* And so it is in all except the Fanatick, whom both the Father and Grandfather of our gracious Prince assure us, *that no Benefit can oblige.* And really the Fanatick is no more to be comprehended within the general Rules of Reason than the Brute; because as this acts according to the Instinct of its Nature, which often carries it contrary to the Principles of a rational Creature, so the Fanatick is moved by the giddy Impulse of *Enthusiasm*, which has abundance of more Points than the Compass.

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Compass. This is that Monster, who ever since his Majesty's happy, happy Restoration, has endeavour'd to lay an open and easy way to the Destruction of the Government, by endeavouring, by their unreasonable Calumnies, to make the chief Ministers of it contemptible to the People. They have been indeed, like cunning Artists, a long while heating and preparing the Matter; and in Seventy-eight, when they found the Bent and Biass of the People work'd into a Temper, then it was that *Corah* shew'd himself, and pronounc'd, *That the Prince and the Priest had conspir'd together against our Liberty.* This, carry'd on under specious Pretences, put the People into a fit of downright Madnes; and when the zealous Alarm was made on that side of the imaginary Point of the Compass whence Popery was to come, the Fanatick had just planted his Colours on the contrary part of our City. 'Tis enough to confound a Man, and make him (if possible) to forswear being in the same Class of Nature with these sort of Animals, to consider the unaccountable Whims in  
their

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their Proceedings. All that died for Dr. Titus's Plot, with their last Breath asserting their Innocence, were not believ'd, because *Popery allow'd Dispensations for Lying, and could easily elude not only the Dictates of Christianity, but of Nature too*: And now it comes to the Fanaticks turn to hang, one would think on such an Occasion they should not only sing *Hopkins* very heartily, but speak true too; and yet all these unfortunate Gentlemen that died, having, in part at least, acknowledg'd the matter of Fact for which they were condemn'd, tho' they seem to deny the Guilt of it; the Brethren matter it not; and yet could these believe, that a Mad-man, with a Fire-ball upon a Pole, set *London* into flames.

My Lord, we had felt the dismal Effects of this Mixture of Villany and Madnes, had not the most wise Conduct of his *MAJESTY* (assisted by such loyal and courageous Hands as your Lordship's) deliver'd us from the dreadful Precipice, which we saw and trembled at. The Fable of the Viper, which the kind Country-man  
having;

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having warm'd into Life, stung its Benefactor, was by Antiquity thought to express Ingratitude in its highest Extent. The Faction outgo this: They hiss at and wound a Prince, who is not only so far their Redeemer, as that he restor'd them to Life *when they were Dead in Law and Justice*, but shew'd himself of that Forbearance and Clemency, that he seem'd to deliberate whether he had best revenge their Insolence, or fall himself. Such extraordinary Goodness deserv'd the Expence of all the Miracles Heaven could lay out for its Deliverance!

We, who are happy in living near your Lordship, felt the warm Influence: The same Plague of Republican Principles, which had infected the Capital City of this fortunate Island, had gain'd too great a Party among the Citizens of this Place. The very Men that eat our Bread were keenly prepar'd to have invaded those sacred Seats which support them, and have continually rescued both them and their Predecessors from Beggary. Affronts are not to be measur'd by the real Loss

we

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we undergo, but that Uneasiness of Spirit they bring upon the Men that suffer them. To be slighted by a Superior is a thing we may calmly (tho' with some Grief) submit to: To be neglected, contemn'd, and trod upon by an Inferior, who depends upon us for his very Breath, is so insufferable Usage, that nothing but the Meekness of a primitive Confessor could forgive it. And how have the Gownsmen deserved this? *Because we are Popishly affected, by religiously observing the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy; because we were Pensioners of France, and undermin'd the Fundamental Laws of the Nation, by asserting one of the most Sacred Essentials of the Government, the LINEAL SUCCESSION, which could neither by the Dispensation of a Pope, or the Power of Parliament, be alter'd. Your Lordship (tho' personally affronted by this ungrateful illiterate Society) durst stem this Torrent, which threatned an easy Ruin to all its Opposers; and, possibly, that the very Brutes that graze and fatten upon the Hills of Parnassus, have not made Food of us its Inhabitants,*

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is in no small measure due to your Lordship's Care. Which the ingenious Gentlemen concern'd in this Translation (who did me the Honour to commission me, tho' of all Men the most unfit, to recommend it to your Lordship's Patronage) do gratefully acknowledge; and it was not the Vanity of having a Name prefix'd to two or three Leaves *done into English* that prompted them to join in this small Concern, but the Desire they had to make a publick Resentment of those many Favours your Lordship has been pleased to bestow upon this our Sacred Learned *Athens*.

And now having executed my Commission to the utmost of my small Abilities, I must not in good Manners trouble your Lordship any further, than to beg leave to assure You, that I am, with all imaginable Respect,

MY LORD,

Your Lordship's

Obliged Humble Servant

LEOPOLD WILLIAM FINCH.



THE  
L I F E  
O F  
*Cornelius Nepos.*

**T**Here is no part of Human Learning so universally advantageous to Mankind, as History. It rescues our Ancestors from Oblivion; it can instruct and delight the present and future Ages. We are oblig'd by all the Laws of Natural Religion to preserve our Relations as long as possibly we can: Even then when their Lives are scarce worth the keeping, when old Age has render'd them useless both in publick and private Capacities, by the nauseous Methods of Physick we endeavour to keep them among us. And certainly our Piety should not end at the Grave, but employ it self in securing all that remains of them. Urns and Pyramids can only preserve their Ashes; which are, even to the most curious Observer, undistinguishable from those of other Men. Pictures and Medals represent  
only.

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only their outward Lineaments, which are often not unlike in Fools and wise Men. But History gives an Account of their nobler Parts; their Wit, their Learning, and their Virtue: And the Reader hath, what will be no inconsiderable Part of our Happiness in the other World, the Conversation of all the great and good Men of past Ages. And their Examples will prove to him far greater Incentives to Virtue, than all the grave and serious Precepts of Philosophers. They assume to themselves the Boldness and Majesty of a Legislator, lay down rigid and severe Rules of Life, treat us with jejune and abstracted Notions, which few Persons can understand, much less deduce to Practice. But the Force of Example is intelligible to the meanest Capacities: We read, and admire, and having naturally an Itch after Glory, pursue the same Methods our Forefathers so successfully proceeded in.

But though History in general be so pleasant and instructive, yet certainly Biography is more eminently so. The general Historian is wholly taken up in giving the Relations of great and glorious Exploits, of the Rise and Fall of Empires and great Men. You have *Alexander* at the *Granic*, and *Cesar* in the Fields of *Pharsalia*. But an Account of their daily Conversation, of the Menage of their  
Estate,

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Estate, their Behaviour to their Friends and their Family, their Government of their own Passions, is below the Dignity of the Subject; and if the Author should oblige us by an useful Digression, (it may be, of more real Advantage than the whole Series of the History) it would be call'd by the Men of Art an impertinent Exerescence; and the whole Work be esteem'd monstrous, that in one part so swells beyond the lawful Proportion. As the poor Poet is damn'd in *Horace*, that, because he had got a delicate Description of the *Rhine*, was resolv'd to insert it into his Poem, tho' wholly impertinent to his Design.

Yet certainly the History of these Actions, though of a meaner nature, is infinitely more useful. The other, 'tis true, are more Heroical and Illustrious, extremely fit Objects for our Admiration, but usually inimitable. They do indeed raise our Attention; but then they debauch our Reason: For as the Stomachs of those, who have indulg'd themselves in the use of spirituous Liquors, can afterwards admit of no wholesome Diet; so after these miraculous Accounts of Knights and Giants, all sober and sound Sense proves nauseous to us.

In the general History, we see the Hero at the Head of an Army, or in a Triumph;

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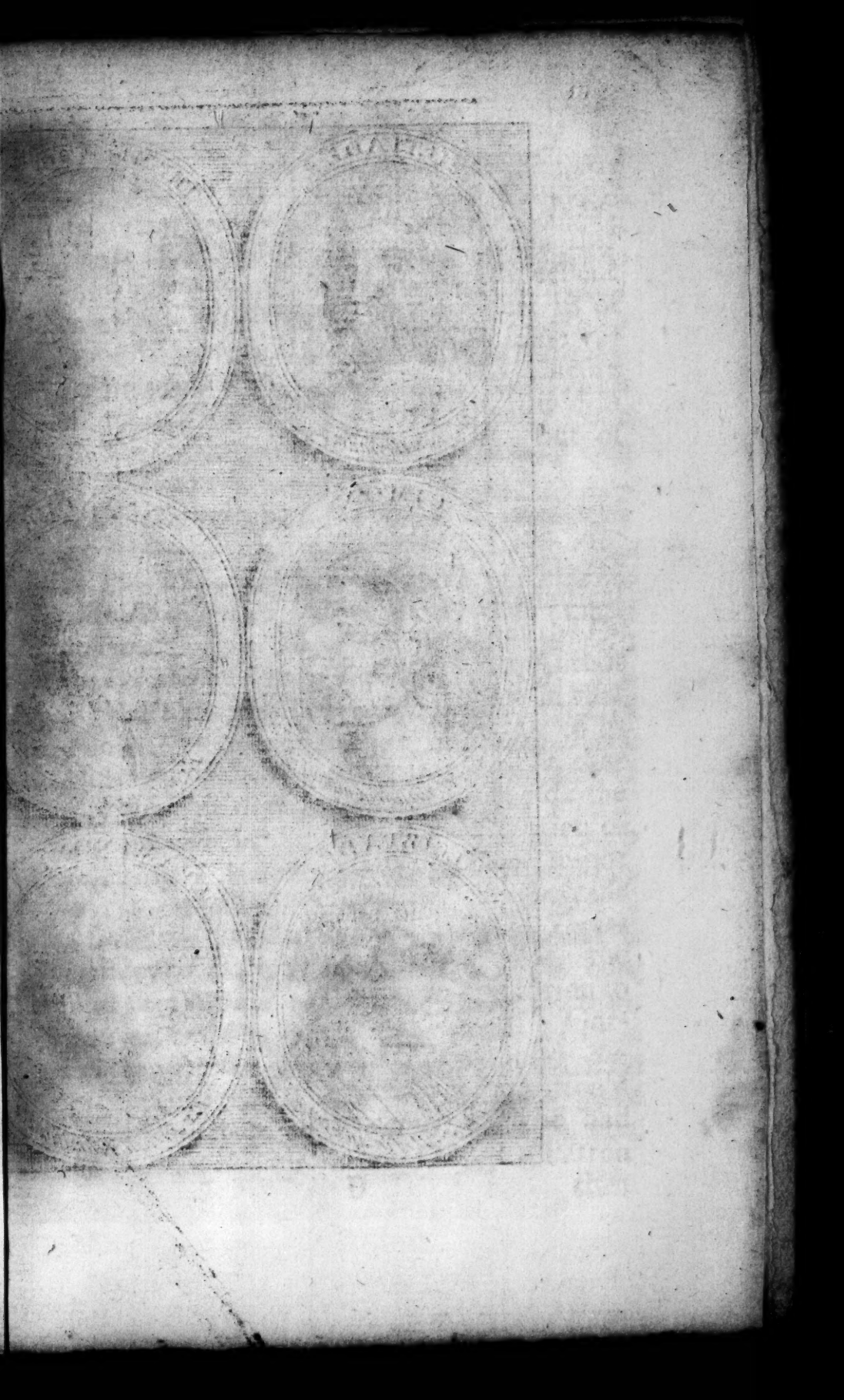
amph; but by what Steps and Degrees he raised himself to this Greatness, we are unacquainted with; which would yet more improve and delight the Reader. The Acquisition of Glory is like that of Money: The greatest Art consists in getting a Stock at first; which afterwards, if manag'd with an ordinary Prudence, increases prodigiously.

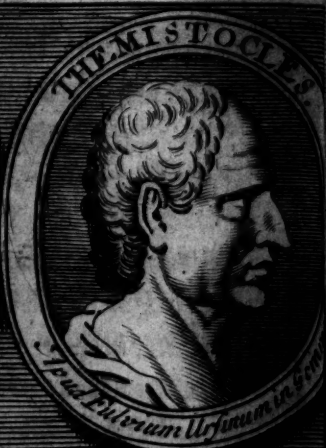
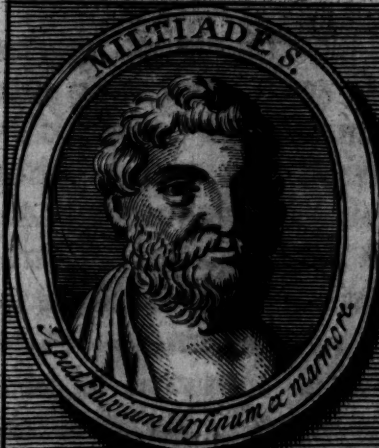
Biography is indeed of a limited and confin'd Nature; since it respects only the Actions of particular Persons, and is not oblig'd to give the whole Process of an Expedition. And therefore, since the *Mithridatic* War was manag'd by *Sylla*, *Lucullus*, and *Pompey*, successively, an accurate Description of it is not to be expected from the Biographer. But then the general Historian is as imperfect in the Lives of particular Persons, takes them only as they fall in his way, and cannot insist long upon them, without transgressing the Laws of a methodical History. But the Biographer attends his Hero from the Cradle to the Throne, shews him at first, it may be, mean and contemptible, despis'd and depress'd, till at last by Virtue and Industry he breaks thro' all Impediments, and in despite of Envy and Detraction, mounts himself above his peevish Enemies. He accompanies him in his Retirements; gives  
his

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his Carriage to his Friend and Relations, acquaints you with his Divertisements, lays aside the State and Grandeur, the Pomp and Parade, draws the Scene, and shews you the Man himself, divested of his gaudy or formal Dress. And then, whereas the general Historian, like a false Courtier, takes notice of him only in his Greatness; and, when he becomes unfit for Service in the Camp or the Senate (as some ill Masters do their worn-out Servants) deserts him; Biography still waits upon him, tho' discarded the Court; and tells you with what Courage and good Grace he bears the Affronts of his ungrateful Country-men, his Sickness, and Death itself. Which certainly (unless you read History as Ladies do Romances) you would as willingly be informed of, as his Gallantry in the hottest Engagement. 'Twere easy to enlarge upon this Subject, were I to write a Panegyrick on Biography, and not the Life of a particular Historian.

Among Authors of this nature, there is scarce any so considerable as *C. Nepos*, who has had the good Fortune to please the most judicious Criticks of all Ages; but in this is strangely unhappy, That having been so industrious in immortalizing other Men, and having wrote a particular Volume of the Lives of Historians, he himself  
has





## C. NEPOS.

has been almost forgotten, and we have very little left us concerning him. Nay, and to add to the Misfortune, even this very Treatise, of the Lives of Excellent Generals, which is the only one left us of his numerous Writings, hath by some very ill Judges been attributed to an obscure Person, one *Æmilius Probus*, who liv'd in the Barbarous Age of *Theodosius*. But of this below.

He was born in *Hostilia*, a Village depending upon *Verona*; whereof *Pliny*, *Antonine* in his *Itinerary*, &c. make mention; and is at this day subject to the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of *Verona*. *Verona* lies near the *Po*; upon which account *Pliny* calls our Author *Padi Accola*: It is situated likewise in that part of *Italy* which the *Romans* (for to us 'tis otherwise) call'd *Italia Transpadana*, that part of *Italy* which is on the other side the *Po*: So that *Catullus*, in his Dedication of his Excellent Poems to *C. Nepos*, might very justly call him an *Italian*. But because the same Country was call'd *Gallia Togata* (or that part of *Gall* wherein Gowns, the *Roman* Habit, were worn, in opposition to *Gallia Braccata*, so nam'd from the Garments of the Barbarous Inhabitants) *Ausonius*, alluding to *Catullus*'s foremention'd Epigram, tells his *Pacatus*, that he had found a more Learned and Obliging Patron

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than *Gall* furnish'd *Catullus* with. But these two Poets may be easily reconcil'd, considering that the same Place was, with different respects, reckon'd part both of *Gall* and *Italy*. Now, that *Nepos* was a *Veronese*, was the constant Opinion of that City, where in the Senate-House his Statue was erected among those of the illustrious Men born there. *Elios Vinetus* would indeed perswade us, that there is nothing of certainty when *Nepos* was born; but besides the constant Tradition of the City of *Verona*, and that his Statue was plac'd among those of the *Veronian* Writers, (which certainly would satisfy any Man of a tolerable Ingenuity) we have the Authority of *Leander*, *Albertus*, *Paulus Merula*, and of the Learned and Illustrious *Alexander Becellus*, Chancellor of *Verona*.

The Territories of *Verona* enjoy a delicate thin Air; the Soil as healthful, as well water'd, and supply'd with Fruits of all kinds, as most Places in the World; as if it were design'd by Nature for the Country of great and witty Men. 'Tis not impossible for a great Genius to proceed from an unhealthy and boggy Soil, where the Air as well as Water stagnates, and is corrupted; but 'tis very improbable there should. *Plutarch* and *Pindar* were born in *Bæotia*, but not one eminent Writer more,

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more, as we hear of, *Erasmus* came from *Rotterdam*; and yet the greatest Judge of the last Age was pleas'd to say of *Gretser*, 'Tis a *Witty Man for a German*. And if we consider the Dependance which our Souls have upon our Bodies, as to their Operations, we need not wonder, that thick and foggy Airs should so seldom be bless'd with extraordinary Men. 'Tis certainly a mighty Advantage to be born in a Place eminent for Wit and Learning; where great Examples daily appear before us, and raise in us a generous Emulation to equal or surpass them. Upon this account it is, that Cities have become famous for some particular Excellence; and Wit, as some Herbs, if once rooted in a Ground, cannot without difficulty be got out. *Verona* has indeed produc'd as great Wits, and as learned Men in all Faculties, as any City perhaps in the World. Here were born the two *Plinies*, *Macer* the Botanic Poet, *Vitruvius* the Architect, and (in a later Age) that Prodigy of Wit and Learning *Hieronimus Fracastorius*, the best Physician, Mathematician, and Poet of his Age.

As *Nepos* was born in a Place famous for polite Learning, so likewise in an Age when Wit and Elegance of Style were advanc'd to their utmost Perfection; in that Age which the Critics call *The Golden Age of Eloquence*. There is no question, but

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*Junius* the Rebel, *M. Valerius* the Dictator, *Menenius Agrippa*, so famous for reconciling the *Patricians* and *Plebeians*, did make Orations to the People; tho' not so fine ones as Historians ascribe to them. They were certainly Men of incomparable Valour and of sound Sense; but they had only a good unpolish'd rough Eloquence, and with that attain'd their Ends upon a People rude and illiterate; and wanted only a *Grecian* Education to render them the greatest Wits in their Age. But as the *Roman* Empire began to extend it self into *Greece*, and People admir'd the Oratory of that Nation, the *Roman* Language was daily refin'd. It at first became neat and clean, the Words and Phrases proper and easy, not florid, much less ranting and fustian. This is that which is so admirable in the ancient Comedies, of which *Plautus* and *Terence* are the only now left us; which, as *Scaliger* well observes, our Misfortunes have endear'd to us: We admire them the more, because we have none else left us to admire. In the Eloquence of that Age there was nothing affected, nothing of Paint and Daubing, but pure natural Beauty, undebauch'd, and preferable upon account of its native Simplicity to all the swelling Rhetorick of some After-ages. But at last the *Roman* Style was illustrated with Tropes and Figures; which, if modestly made use of,

## C. N E P O S.

of, are the real Ornaments of a Style; but, if us'd with Imprudence, become nauseous, and more like the Sayings of a Madman than an Orator. In this golden Age the *Romans* had rais'd themselves to the utmost pitch; they had gone as far as Prudence would permit them; which when their immediate Successors endeavour'd to surpass, they swell'd into Bombast, and their Wit was more like an hydropick Tumour than a natural Plumpness. The *Spaniards* brought this Disease of Style into *Italy*; and *Cicero*, in his Oration for *Archias* the Poet, exposes the barbarous and greasy Wit of that Nation. And yet there are some Men who compare and prefer *Martial* to *Catullus*, between whom there is as wide a Difference, as betwixt the sordid Drollery of a Buffoon, and the ingenious Raillery of a Gentleman. They have had a greater Esteem for the Heat of *Lucretius* than the just Greatness of *Virgil*: But the best Judges rather pity these mistaken Gentlemen than dispute with them.

Now to be considerable in such an Age as this, to be infinitely esteem'd and caress'd by the greatest Persons in it, is an infallible Argument of the real Excellence of an Author. When *Cicero*, *Catullus*, *Arrius*, &c. appear as Witnesses, it must needs be a vile *Ignoramus* Jury that will not find the Bill. *Catullus*, the most accurate and delicate

## C. N E P O S.

Epigrammatist that ever writ, dedicated his Poems to him. *Cicero* was his most intimate and bosom Friend; there was a constant Intercourse of Letters betwixt them. *Sueton*, in his Life of *Julius Caesar*, takes notice of a Letter from *Cicero* to *Nepos*, and *Lactantius* quotes an Epistle of *Nepos* to *Tully*: Nay, their epistolary Commerce was so great, that *Macrobius* makes mention of the second Book of Epistles from *Tully* to *Nepos*. His Intimacy with *Atticus* is evident from the Life of *Atticus*, here annex'd to his Lives of excellent Generals; for *Atticus* himself was so far from being one, that he never engaged in the War either for *Caesar* or *Pompey*, and yet had the good Fortune (which I believe very few of that Humour ever met with) to be honour'd, esteem'd, and unmolested thro' the whole Course of his Life.

He left many learned and curious Works behind him, which the Injury of Time hath depriv'd us of; and we have only just enough left us to see the Greatness of our Loss in the rest. He was Author of a Book, which he call'd his Chronicle, wherein (in three distinct Volumes) he gave an Account of those three great Intervals of Time, which Historians so much talk of, the obscure and uncertain, the fabulous, and the historical Ages of the World. As to the first and second, *Tertullian* informs us,

## C. N E P O S.

us, that *Nepos* affirms, there never was any *Saturn* but what was a Man; and *Ausonius* tells his Pupil the Emperor, that he sent him *Titianus's* Fables, and *Nepos's* Chronicles, which were not much unlike them; and *Catullus*, in his Preface to his Poems, tells us, that *Nepos* did *omne Ævum tribus explicare chartis*.

Besides this great Work, he writ the Lives of Illustrious Men, of which, twenty two, which respect the *Grecians* and *Barbarians*, are transmitted to us; and likewise the Lives of the *Roman* Heroes (as is evident from his Life of *Hannibal*) and the *Roman* Kings: But what thro' the Invasion of foreign Nations, and the Ignorance and Carelessness of superstitious Monks, who let them lie and rot unobserv'd in their Libraries, we have only their Titles from other Authors, which had the good Fortune to survive. *Æmilius Probus* hath by some Criticks been suppos'd to be the Author of the Lives of foreign Generals; but 'tis a palpable Mistake, occasion'd by an Epigram prefix'd to some antient Manuscripts of this Author, wherein *Probus* commands his Book, if the Emperor *Theodosius* enquire after the Author, to tell him it is one *Probus*. But then it follows, *Corpore in hoc Manus est Genetricis, Avique meique, viz.* that his own Hand, his Mother's, and Grandfather's, were concern'd in the Work:

## C. N E P O S.

Whence 'tis clear beyond Contradiction, that this *Probus* was only a Transcriber. Besides, can *Robortellus*, who writ a Treatise of the Art of Criticism, or any Man of common Learning and Sense, persuade himself that this wretched Poet could be the Author of this most delicate and judicious Piece of History; but from the Cleanness and Terseness of Expression may undeniably be evinc'd, that the Author of this Book liv'd in the Age of *Julius* and *Augustus*? And besides all this, there are forty Places in the Lives themselves that prove *Nepos* was their Author, and liv'd in the Age aforesaid; for which, if you please, consult *Lambin*.

But *Nepos* hath not been more abus'd by ascribing his Works to other Men, than in making him the Author of some Pieces wholly unworthy of him. Thus the Book of Illustrious Men, which usually was said to be *Pliny's*, but is really *Aurelius Victor's*, some Criticks father upon our Author; and the Translation of *Dares* the *Phrygian* is said to be his; but the very Style it self is sufficient to convince any judicious Reader. *Nepos*, in the Judgment of some Men, liv'd after the Nativity of our Lord; but if you consider how celebrated he was for his Learning in the Days of *Catullus*, *Cicero* and *Atticus*, you will find no great reason to subscribe to their Opinion.

T H E

THE  
CHRONOLOGY  
TO

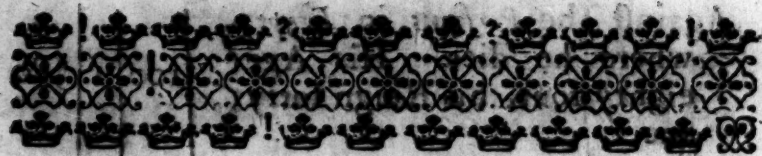
*Corn. Nepos.*

	Olympiad.	Year of Olympiad.	Before Christ.
<b>M</b> iltiades overcomes the Persians at Marathon Dies in Prison	72	3	490
	72	4	489
<b>T</b> hemistocles overcomes the Persians at Salamis Banish'd Dies	73	1	408
	77	2	471
	79	2	463
<b>A</b> ristides banish'd by Ostracism With Pausanias overthrows and kills Mardonius	74	2	483
	75	2	479
<b>P</b> ausanias conspires against Greece Is starv'd	75	4	477
	75	4	477
<b>C</b> imon overcomes the Persians in a naval Fight Is banish'd by Ostracism Overcomes the Persians by Sea and Land Dies	77	3	430
	82	3	450
	84	3	459
	82	4	449
B 5			Lysander

<i>Lyfander</i> befieges <i>Athens</i>	93	4	405
Takes it	94	1	404
<i>Alcibiades</i> is banish'd.	92	1	412
Recall'd	92	2	413
Dies	94	1	404
<i>Thrasybulus</i> Commander of the Athenians	92	2	411
Overcomes the Thirty Tyrants	94	4	401
Dies	99	4	308
<i>Conon</i> overcomes the <i>Lacedemo-</i> <i>nians</i> at <i>Cnidus</i>	96	3	394
Fortifies the <i>Piræum</i>	96	4	393
<i>Dion</i> his Flight and Preparation for War against <i>Dionysius</i>	101	3	358
He dies	106	2	355
<i>Iphicrates</i> General of the <i>Athe-</i> <i>nians</i> obtains the Victory at <i>Corinth</i> and lays down his Command.	96	4	393
<i>Chabrias</i> General of the <i>Athenians</i>	99	2	383
Overcomes the <i>Lacedemonians</i>	100	4	377
Is kill'd by Fraud	101	4	376
<i>Timotheus</i> General of the <i>Athenians</i>	101	1	376
<i>Datames</i> liv'd about	94	4	400
<i>Epaminondas</i> made Commander of the <i>Thebans</i>	101	2	375
Overcomes the <i>Lacedemonians</i> at <i>Leuctra</i>	102	2	371
Befieges <i>Sparta</i>	102	4	369
Dies in the Battel at <i>Mantineæ</i>	104	2	363
<i>Pelopidas</i> taken captive	103	1	368
Recover'd	103	2	367
<i>Agessilaus</i> makes War in <i>Asia</i>	96	2	395
			Against

Against the <i>Persians</i> in <i>Egypt</i> , where he dies. His Age eighty four, his Reign forty one	}	100	1	380
<i>Eumenes</i> is made Tutor to <i>A-</i> <i>lexander's</i> Children	}	115	2	319
His War against <i>Antigonus</i>		115	4	317
Is taken and slain		116	2	315
<i>Phocion</i> puts to flight <i>Clitarchus</i> the Tyrant	}	109	4	340
<i>Timoleon</i> delivers from Slavery <i>Corinth</i> and <i>Syracuse</i>	}	159	2	143
Overcomes the <i>Corinthians</i>		159	4	140
Dies		106	2	137
<i>Hamilcar</i> Governor of <i>Sicily</i> for the <i>Carthagenians</i>	}	132	4	259
<i>Hannibal</i> passes the <i>Alps</i>		104	4	218
Gains the Victory at <i>Canne</i>		141	2	216
Is overthrown by <i>Scipio</i>		144	3	202
Flies to <i>Antiochus</i>		146	2	195
Dies, his Age sixty three		149	3	182
<i>M. P. Cato</i> Consul		146	2	195
Censor		149	1	184
Dies		157	4	149
<i>T. P. Atticus</i> liv'd		178	4	63
<i>G. Nepos</i> liv'd		178	4	





THE  
PREFACE  
OF  
Cornelius Nepos.



Do not doubt ( my Atticus ) but a great many will censure this way of Writing, not only as frivolous, but unworthy the Persons of Excellent Men, when they shall read these little Memoirs related of them: As who was the Master that taught Epaminondas Musick; and that it was reckon'd amongst his chief Accomplishments, that he had an handsome way of Dancing, and sung skilfully to the Flute. But this is the Opinion only of those, who being ignorant of the Grecian Learning, think nothing right but what strictly quadrates with their own Manners: But if these would but once learn, that things decent and uncomely do not appear with the same Aspect of Honesty and Turpitude to all Persons, but that every thing ought to be measur'd by the Institutions of our Ancestors; it will suppress  
their

## P R E F A C E.

*their Admiration, that in the Celebrating the Virtues of the Grecians we have follow'd their Customs; for it was not objected as a Scandal to Cimon, who was one of the greatest Personages amongst the Athenians, that he married his half Sister, which his Father had by a former Lady; since it was a familiar Usage, that obtain'd amongst the rest of the Citizens, tho' it breaks in upon our ways of living, and is counted Irreligion. It was a thing highly applauded in Greece, that young Lads were Catamites, and had many Rivals in that unnatural Pleasure; and at Lacedæmon there was not a Widow, tho' of the noblest Extraction, but would act her Part in a Comedy, and take Money for it. In the same Greece likewise it was matter of singular Triumph to be proclaim'd a Conqueror in the Olympick Games; and yet to come forth upon the Stage, and be a Spectacle of Diversion to the People, was not look'd upon by that Nation as any ways opprobrious. All which things notwithstanding kindle our Aversion, as being partly downright infamous, and partly below the Dignity of our Characters, and very far from being seemly or becoming. On the contrary, a great many Actions carry with us the Impression of Decorum, which are thought very lewd by them: As for instance, what Roman blusheth to lead his Wife to an Entertainment? And what Mother of a Family will not reside in the most frequented part of her House, and contribute her share of Conversation at a publick Feast? And yet 'tis much otherwise*

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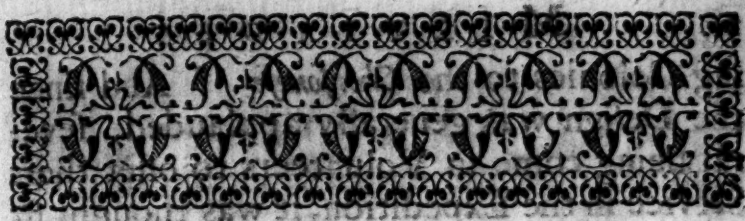
*practis'd.*

## P R E F A C E.

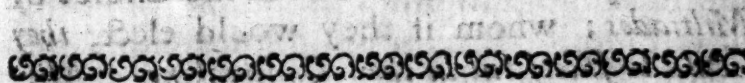
practis'd in Greece ; for there they never come to any jolly Affignation, unless invited by their near Relations ; and are never seen but in the most inward Apartments, which they call from thence (Gynaconitis) the Chamber of the Women ; and no one's Approaches were permitted thither, but of those who gain'd Access by the Privilege either of Blood or Affinity. But the Bulk of the Volume will not let me run through any more Examples of this kind ; and Expedition calls upon me to give the last hand to those things which I have begun : Therefore we will come close to the purpose, and in this Book draw to your view the Lives of these Illustrious Commanders.



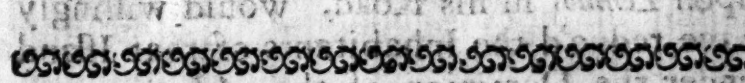
THE



THE  
LIFE  
OF  
MILTIADES.



Done into *English* by Mr. Tullie, M. A. of  
*Queen's College, Oxon.* and Sub-Dean of  
*York.*



WHEN *Miltiades*, the Son of  
*Cimon*, an *Athenian*, had got him-  
self a great and illustrious Name,  
as well for his own native Mo-  
desty, as by the ancient and renowned Fa-  
mily whence he was descended; and was  
now arriv'd at those Years which were suf-  
ficient to confirm his Fellow-Citizens in the  
high Opinion they always had of him; it  
happen'd that the *Athenians* were upon a  
new Project of conquering and transplant-  
ing;

## MILTIADES

ing Colonies to the *Chersonese*. \* And since the Design was generally applauded, several being come in Volunteers to offer their Service in the Expedition, it was thought fit to depute some of them to go to *Delphos*, and there consult the Oracle of *Apollo* about the Choice of a General: For at that time the *Thracians* were Masters of those Countries, who were not to be dispossest'd but by Force of Arms. When they were arriv'd at *Delphos*, and had address'd themselves to the Oracle, the Answer it returned was positive and expresse in the Choice of *Miltiades*; whom if they would elect, *they should be successful in their Undertaking*. *Miltiades*, confirm'd in his Command by so great an Authority, sets sail for the *Chersonese*, with a select Band of Men; and touching upon *Lemnos* in his Road, would willingly have reduc'd the Inhabitants of that Island under the Dominion of the *Athenians*, requiring them immediately to surrender themselves. But they laugh'd at the Demand, and reply'd, *That yes they would, when he should sail from home to Lemnos with a Northerly Wind*; which is contrary to them who come from *Athens* to those Coasts. But *Miltiades's* Affair would not admit of Delay; and therefore, without any farther Attempt, he

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new Project of conducting and transplanting

\* The *Thracian Chersonese*, or *Peninsula*.

he steer'd his Course directly for the *Chersonese*, where he safely arriv'd. And having, in a short time, defeated the Forces of those *Barbarians*, and made himself Master of the *Chersonese*, he fortified the most convenient Places of it with Castles and Citadels, and planted all the Country with his own Soldiers, whom he enrich'd with the Booty of frequent Excursions. Nor had Fortune a greater share in the Success of this Expedition than his own Prudence. For having routed the Enemies Forces by the Valour of his own, he manag'd the whole Concern of the Victory with the greatest Equity imaginable and made the *Chersonese* the Place of his Residence. *For he acted as King amongst them, tho' he had not the Title*; and yet ow'd not his Power so much to the Absoluteness of his Command, as to the Justice of his Actions. For notwithstanding the Greatness of his Fortune, he was ready to do any Acts of Kindness for his Countrymen the *Athenians*. By which means he establish'd his Authority not only in the Hearts and Affections of the *Athenians* who gave it him, but of those also over whom he was to exercise it too. And having thus settled the Government of his late Conquest, he comes back to *Lemnos*, and (by virtue of his former Compact with the Inhabitants) demands the Surrendry of their City into his Hands: *For they had promis'd to yield themselves*

*selves up to him when he should sail from home to Lemnos by a North Wind; which was now perform'd from his Habitation in the Chersonese. The Carians, who then inhabited the Island, tho' they little expected such a Demand of the Performance of a jocular Promise, yet were forc'd to comply and quit the Island; not so much out of the Sense of any Obligation they conceiv'd themselves to lie under, as of the Power and great Success of the Enemy whom they were to encounter. Nor was he less happy in reducing those other Islands, call'd Cyclades, under the Athenian Dominion. In those Days Darius, the Persian King, resolving upon a War with the Scythians, built a Bridge upon the Danube, for the passing over his Army, and gave the chief Command of it, and of their respective Cities, to the Forces which he had rais'd in Ionia and Æolis. For he went upon this Ground, that it would be the best Expedient to keep the Greeks, who inhabited Asia, in Subjection during the War, to entrust their Friends and Countrymen with the Command of his Towns, who could expect no Quarter if he chanc'd to be defeated. Amongst the rest of these Governors was Miltiades; who, when he had continual News brought him of the ill Success of the Persians Arms against the Scythians, exhorted the Commanders of the Bridge, not to baulk so fair an Opportunity of freeing Greece from the Persian Yoke; alledg-*

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ing, That if Darius and his Forces were but defeated now, not only all Europe would be free from Apprehensions of his Arms for the future, but that the poor Greeks likewise, who inhabited Asia, would be rescued from the Slavery they underwent, and the Dangers they were expos'd to from their Persian Masters; and that if the Bridge were but demolish'd, the Design must of necessity take effect, and the Persians perish either by the Sword or Famine in a few Days. When several of the Company had join'd with, and seconded Miltiades, Hestius Miletus crav'd leave to dissent from them, objecting, That tho' it might be expedient for the Generality of the People to be freed from their Subjection to Darius, yet it could by no means be so to them, who bore Command under him: That their Power and Interest was imbarck'd in the same bottom with Darius's Empire; which if once overthrown, their Employments must expire with it, and they suffer by the Hands of their own Fellow-Citizens. And therefore, that he was so far from concurring with them, that for his part he thought it highly their Interest that the Persian Empire should be upheld and establish'd. When Miltiades understood by the Sense of the Company, that the Point would be carry'd against him; and easily imagining, that of so many who were privy to the Consult, some would certainly come in and inform the King of the Plot, he thought it

it his safest way to leave the *Chersonese*, and return to *Athens*. And tho' indeed the Majority of the Cabal thought not fit then to concur with him in the Design; yet was it a generous Proposal in him, in that he rather consulted the Liberty of his Country, than his own private Interest.

*Darius*, after his Return from *Europe* into *Asia*, being advis'd by his Council to try if he could reduce *Greece* under his Dominions, fitted out a Fleet of fifty Sail of Ships in order to that Design; whereof he made *Daris* and *Ataphernes* Admirals, and gave them the Command of 200000 Foot, and 10000 Horse; alledging the Affront that the *Athenians* had put upon him in assisting the *Ionians* in the taking of *Sardis*, and putting the Garrison to the Sword, as the Ground and Occasion of the War against them. The *Persians* landing at *Eubœa*, immediately made themselves Masters of *Eretria*, and sent the Inhabitants of the Country into *Asia* to *Darius*. From thence they march'd as far as *Attica*, into the Fields of *Marathon*, which is about ten Miles from the Town. The *Athenians*, tho' they were in a great Consternation at the near Approaches of so powerful an Enemy, yet solicited they none but the *Lacedemonians* for their Assistance; to whom they dispatch'd *Philippus* (one of those Couriers whom

whom they call'd \* *Hemerodromi*) to acquaint them what urgent Occasions they had for their speedy Relief. In the mean time they chose ten great Officers to command the Army, whereof *Miltiades* was one; amongst whom it was hotly debated, *Whether it were more advisable for them to rely upon the Strength of the Town, or to march out and fight the Enemy.* *Miltiades* press'd them with greater Earnestness than any of the rest, to pitch their Tents as soon as possibly they could; for that by this means the Citizens would be excited to behave themselves more bravely, when they saw how highly their Valour was rely'd upon; and the Enemy's Advances would be retarded, when they should observe with what a small Handful of Men they resolv'd to fight them. There were none who actually assisted the *Athenians* in this Juncture but the *Plateans*, who sent them a thousand Men, which made them compleatly ten thousand strong; a small Number, but fired with a wonderful Desire to be in Action. *Miltiades*, by this Counsel of his, became more considerable than his Collegues; for 'twas upon the great Authority his Advice had amongst them, that the *Athenians* march'd their

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\* Stout young Fellows, who were dispatch'd abroad upon State Affairs, and perform'd their Errand with great Expedition.

Forces out of the Town, where they were encamp'd conveniently, and the next Day after, at the Foot of an Hill, join'd Battle with all the Courage imaginable, and the Advantage of a new Stratagem on their Side; for they had block'd up the Passages with Trees in several Places, to the intent, that they might both be shelter'd by the Tops of the Mountains, and that the Trees in the way might hinder the Enemies Horse from breaking in upon them. *Datis*, tho' he saw that the *Athenians* had manifestly the Advantage of the Place, yet relying upon the vast Odds he had in the Number, and considering also, that the *Spartan* Auxiliaries were not yet arriv'd, resolv'd to engage them; and accordingly led up an hundred thousand of his Infantry, and ten thousand Horse, with which he gave them Battle; wherein the Valour of the *Athenians* so far exceeded that of their Enemies, that they defeated ten times the Number of their own Forces; and so affrighted the *Persians*, that they never offer'd to make towards their Camp again, but fled to their Vessels: Than which Fight never certainly was any thing more illustriously great and glorious; for never did so small an Handful of Men conquer so numerous and powerful an Army. And here it may not be improper to remark, what *Miltiades* had for the Reward of so great an Action: whereby

whereby we may perceive how the same Humour and Genius runs thro' all Bodies politick: For as the Marks of Honour which the Romans formerly fix'd upon the bravest Men were very rare and inconsiderable, and for that reason more signally honourable, tho' now indeed they are grown common and extravagant; so we find it was anciently amongst the Athenians; for this great *Miltiades*, to whom all Greece, as well as Athens, ow'd their Safety, had only this Honour done him, that when the Fight at *Marathon* was painted in the Gallery call'd \**Pæcile*, he was drawn the first of all the ten Commanders, exhorting his Soldiers, and giving Battle to the Enemy: And yet the same People, after they had enlarg'd their Territories, and became once corrupted with the Bribery of their Magistrates, decreed no less than three hundred Statues to the Honour of *Demetrius Phalereus*. After this Engagement at *Marathon*, the Athenians made him Admiral of a Fleet of seventy Sail of Ships, to make War upon those Islands which had assisted the Barbarians; several whereof submitted without Resistance, and some he took by Assault. Amongst the rest that held out was the Island *Parus*, a rich and arrogant People, whom

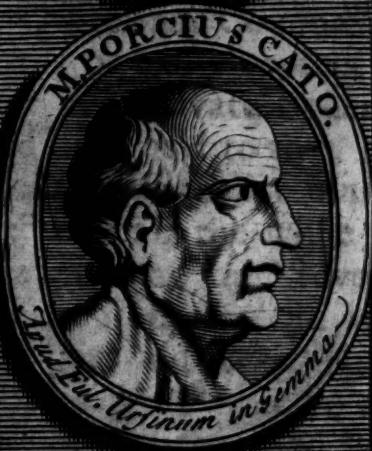
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\* *Ποικίλην*, so call'd from the Variety of Pictures wherewith it was adorn'd.

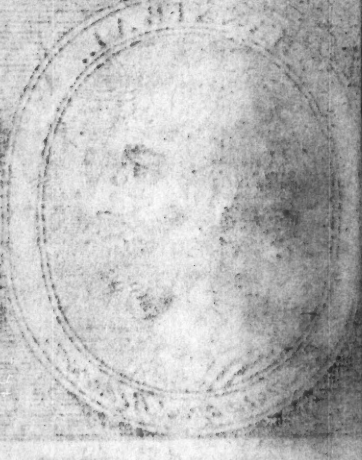
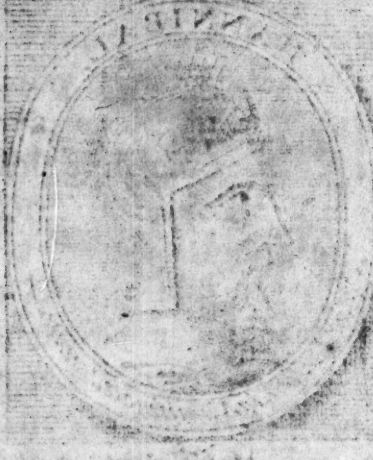
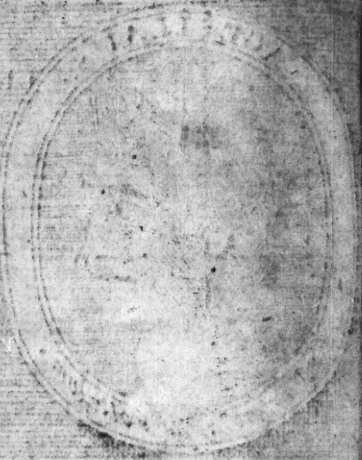
## TO M I L T I A D E S.

whom when he could by no means persuade to a Surrendry, he landed his Men, made his Works about the City, and depriv'd them of all Supplies; and had by the Help of Sconces gradually made his Approaches so near to the Walls, that he was just upon the point of carrying the Town, when there happened, I know not how, a Grove of Trees to be fired afar off in the Continent in the Night; which as soon as it was perceiv'd by the Burgers and Besiegers, they both imagin'd that it was some Sign which was given by the Scouts to the *Perſian Fleet*: Whereupon the Besieg'd became less inclin'd to a Surrendry; and *Miltiades* fearing a sudden Onſet from the royal Navy, ſet fire to his Works, and return'd to *Athens* only with the full Number of Ships they had at firſt given him the Command of; Which ſo enraged the *Athenians*, that they impeach'd him of Treason againſt the State, *That when he might have took Parus, he was brib'd from proſecuting the Deſign by the King of Perſia.* He was at this time laid up of the Wounds which he had receiv'd in the Siege; and therefore, becauſe he was not in a Capacity of anſwering for himſelf, his Brother *Tiſagoras* appear'd for him. When the whole Evidence was given in againſt him, the Crime was not found capital; but he was fin'd however fifty Talents; which was as much as was expended in equipping the

the



M. V. Guiche scul.



the whole Fleet: And being non-solvent, was cast into Prison, where he died. But tho' the Business of *Parus* was the Pretext, yet was it not the real Cause of his Prosecution; for the *Athenians*, who still retain'd the Tyranny of *Pisistratus* (which had rag'd but a few Years before) fresh in their Memories, were extreme apprehensive of the growing Power of any Fellow-Citizen: And they imagin'd, that *Miltiades*, who had borne so great Offices and Commands, would not afterwards be easily content to move in a narrower and private Sphere; and that since he had been us'd to rule, the Force of meer Custom would incline him to aspire after it still: For all the while he dwelt in the *Chersonese* he had the Government wholly in his own Hands, and was styled a Tyrant, but govern'd according to Law; for he ow'd not his Power to the Hands of Violence, but to the good Will of his Subjects, which he maintain'd by his own Gentleness and Moderation. Now they who had the supreme Government in any Commonwealth during Life, which formerly enjoy'd the Liberty of Electing, were call'd Tyrants; but *Miltiades* was a Person of great Humanity, and so exceedingly affable and obliging, that the meanest of his Subjects had free and easy Access to him. A mighty Deference was paid him every where: His Name grew great and

venerable; and he had the Character of an incomparable Soldier. And upon these Motives the People thought it more secure to take him out of the way (tho' he deserved it not), than to live under the continual Apprehensions of Danger from so great a Man.



THE



THE  
L I F E  
O F  
THEMISTOCLES.

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Done into *English* by Mr. Gardiner L. L. B.  
and Fellow of *All-Souls* College, *Oxon.*

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THEMISTOCLES, the Son  
of *Neocles*, was an *Athenian*.  
The Vices which debauch'd  
the beginning of his Youth  
were reform'd by many emi-  
nent Virtues which appear'd in his more  
mature Age; so that he was excell'd by  
none, and there were but few who might be  
thought his Equals. But to trace him from  
his Cradle. His Father *Neocles* was a Gen-  
tleman, who married a Citizen of *Acarnania*,  
of whom *Themistocles* was born. \* His pro-  
fuse

C 2

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\* Authors differ concerning *Themistocles's* Mother,  
both as to her Name and Country.

#### 14 T H E M I S T O C L E S.

fufe and dissolute Life when he was young, with the Neglect of his Estate and worldly Concerns, were so displeasing to his Parents, that they disinherited him. Which Disgrace did rather animate than depress his Spirits. For when he consider'd that his Reputation thus lost could not easily be regain'd, he devoted himself wholly to the Service of the Commonwealth, grew very complaisant to his Friends, and made it his Business to be popular. He was often made an Arbitrator to reconcile private Differences, and was very frequent at the publick Assemblies. There was no Business of more than ordinary Concern but it pass'd thro' his Hands; for he quickly apprehended what was most necessary to be done, and express'd the same in an easy and familiar Style. Neither was he less ready in the managing of any Affair, than in the contriving of it; because (as *Thucydides* says) he had a true Judgment of things present, and would give a shrewd guess at what was to come: So that upon the account of these his extraordinary Parts, he in a short time became of great Repute among the *Athenians*.

The first Honour which was conferr'd upon him was the Government of the Commonwealth in the *Corcyraan* War; for the carrying on of which he being chosen General, made the *Athenians*, not only in that, but also in all after Expeditions,

more

## T H E M I S T O C L E S. 15

more warlike than they had formerly been. For whereas the publick Money, which their Silver Mines brought them in, was every Year lavishly spent by the Prodigality of their Magistrates, he prevail'd so far with the People as to perswade them with that Money to build a Fleet of an hundred Ships: Which being in a short time effected, he first subdued his Enemies the *Corcyraans*, and then scowr'd the Sea of all the Pyrates, with which it was much infested. By this Action he mightily enrich'd the *Athenians*, and made them most expert Sea-Soldiers. And how much this conduc'd to the Safety of all *Greece*, may be easily gather'd from the *Persian War*: For when *Xerxes* invaded all *Europe* both by Sea and Land, with such puissant Armies as no Prince, either before or since his Time, has as yet had; with a Fleet of twelve hundred Men of War, attended by two thousand victualling Ships; and Land Forces to the Number of seven hundred thousand Foot and four hundred thousand Horse; the News of whose Approach being brought to *Greece*, with a Report that his Designs were chiefly against the *Athenians*, to revenge his Defeat at *Marathon*, they immediately sent to *Delphos* to consult the Oracle what would be best for them then to do as to their present Affairs: *Pythia* advises them to fortify themselves with a wooden Wall. The Mean-

ing of which Answer when no body understood, *Themistocles* thus expounded it; telling them, that it was the Advice of *Apollo*, that they should take their Families and their Goods with them into their Ships, for those the Oracle meant by the *wooden Wall*. Which Counsel they approv'd of, and they built as many Galleys as they had Ships before, and so carried all their Moveables, some to *Salamis*, and some to *Træzene*. Their Tower and their Images they deliver'd up to the Care of their Priests, and a few old Men, and so they left the Town.

This Counsel was very ungrateful to most of the Cities, because they had much rather have been engag'd in a Land War; therefore a select Company are sent under Command of *Leonidas*, King of the *Lacedæmonians*, to possess themselves of *Thermopylae*, and to stop the farther Progress of the *Barbarians*; but they were overpower'd by the Forces of so great an Enemy, and were all cut off in that very Place. The first Engagement of the two Fleets (that of the *Grecians* consisting of three hundred Sail, whereof two belong'd to the *Athenians*) was at *Artemisum*, between *Eubæa* and the Continent. The reason why *Themistocles* made choice of those Streights was, lest so great a Multitude might have surrounded him. Here, tho' both Navies retreated

retreated upon equal Terms, yet the *Athenians* durst not maintain their Station; because they fear'd, that if part of the Enemy's Fleet should get beyond *Eubœa*, they would engage them on both Sides: Upon which account they were forc'd to leave *Artemisum*, and sail to *Salamis*, which is over against *Athens*.

But *Xerxes* having gain'd *Thermopylae*, immediately marched to *Athens*, where meeting with no Opposition, he kill'd the Priests which he found in the Tower, and fired the City: At the News of which the Seamen were much terrified; and when they durst not stand to their Colours, and 'twas the Advice of most of them, that every one should go home to their own Houses, and defend themselves as well as they could within their Walls, *Themistocles* alone stood undaunted, telling them, *That so long as they held together in one Body they might equal the Enemy; but protesting, if once dispers'd they must necessarily perish.* And that that would be their Fate he affirm'd to *Eurybiades*, a King of the *Lacedæmonians*, who then was Admiral: Whom when he found not to be concern'd so much as he could have wish'd, he sent one of his Servants (in whom he could most confide) to *Xerxes* by Night, to tell him, *That his Enemies were upon their Flight; and that if they should now escape, he must expect a long and*  

C 4

difficult

18 T H E M I S T O C L E S.

*difficult War; for then he would be forc'd to pursue them singly; but if he would now engage them, he might in a short time destroy them all.* This Stratagem so far prevail'd, that his own Soldiers were compell'd to fight, tho' against their Wills. Whereupon *Xerxes*, not in the least suspecting the Trick which was put upon him, fell upon them the next Day in so narrow a Sea that his whole Fleet could not engage; a Place very disadvantageous to himself, but on the contrary mighty advantageous to his Enemy: So that he was conquer'd rather by the Policy of *Themistocles*, than by the Arms of Greece.

Altho' *Xerxes* manag'd this Action extremely ill, yet after all, he had so great Reserves, that even with them he might have beaten the *Athenians*; but for the present he was forc'd to retreat. For *Themistocles* fearing lest he should go on with the War, sent him word, that the breaking down of the Bridge which he had built over the *Hellespont* was then in Agitation, to exclude his Passage into *Asia*; and made him believe it. For that Journey which cost him six Months Travel when he came for Greece, he perform'd the very same way in less than thirty Days at his Return; looking upon himself not as conquer'd by *Themistocles*, but preserv'd. Thus by the Policy of one Man Greece was

## T H E M I S T O C L E S. 19

was restor'd to its Liberty, and *Asia* made subject to *Europe*. This other Victory was not at all inferior to that at *Marathon*. For here also at *Salamis*, after the same manner, a few Ships defeated the greatest Fleet that has been in the Memory of Man.

Great was *Themistocles* in this War, and as great in Peace. For when the *Athenians* had only the *Phaleric*, a small and inconvenient Port, by his Advice they built a triple Haven at *Pyræa*, and encompass'd it with such Walls, that it equal'd the City in Glory, and excell'd it in Usefulness. He also rebuilt the *Athenian* Walls at his own hazard. For the *Lacedæmonians* having got a plausible reason, viz. the *Incurfions of the Barbarians*, deny'd that any City ought to be built at *Peloponnesus*, lest there should be any Fortifications which might harbour their Enemies; and therefore they endeavour'd to put a stop to their Buildings. But their Designs were quite contrary to their Pretences: For those two Victories, that at *Marathon*, and the other at *Salamis*, made the *Athenians* so considerable all the World over, that the *Lacedæmonians* were afraid they wou'd have contended with them for the Sovereignty; wherefore they used all means to keep them as low as possibly they could. For after they heard that the Walls were begun, they sent Ambassadors to *Athens* to forbid their Proceed-  
C 5
ings.

ings. Whilst they were there they desisted, and told them that they would send Ambassadors to treat with them about that Affair. This Embassy *Themistocles* undertook, and went first himself, ordering the rest of the Ambassadors not to follow, till they thought the Walls were high enough. In the mean time all the City, of what Condition soever, whether Bond or Free, assisted in the Work; neither did they spare any Place, whether sacred or prophane, publick or private; but took from all Parts what Materials would most conduce to the Fortifications. So that their Walls were built with the Ruins of their Temples and Monuments.

*Themistocles*, when he came to *Lacedæmon*, did not immediately desire Audience of the Magistrates, but spun out the time as long as he could, making this his Excuse, that he expected his Collegues. But whilst the *Lacedæmonians* complain that the Works nevertheless went on, and that *Themistocles* endeavoured to deceive them, in the interim the rest of the Ambassadors arrive; by whom when he was given to understand, that the Fortifications were almost finish'd, he address'd himself to the *Ephori*, the chief Magistrates among the *Lacedæmonians*, and told them, *That what they heard concerning their Fortifications was false, wherefore he thought it but reasonable that they should send*  
*some*

*some Persons of Trust and Quality, to whom Credit might be given, to enquire into that Affair; and in the mean time they might keep him as their Pledge. They granted his Request, and accordingly three Ambassadors are sent, Men of great Honour and Repute; on whom Themistocles order'd his Collegues to attend; forewarning them, not to suffer the Lacedæmonian Ambassadors to return, till he himself was sent back. When he thought they were arriv'd at Athens, he waited upon the Senate and Magistracy, and told them very frankly, That by his Advice the Athenians had wall'd in their Publick, their Tutelar, and Household Gods, that they might with the more Ease defend them from their Enemies (which thing was justifiable by the Common Law of Nations;) neither did they do this with a Design to incommode Greece, for their City was as 'twere a Bulwark against the Barbarians, having twice routed the Persian Armada. He told them, That they did not act like just and honest Men, who rather regarded what conduc'd most to their own Greatness, than what might be profitable to all Greece; wherefore if they thought ever to have those Ambassadors return whom they had sent to Athens, they must release him, otherwise they must never expect to receive them again into their own Country.*

Yet after all this he could not evade the Envy of his Fellow-Citizens. For even

## 22 THEMISTOCLES.

the \* same Jealousy which condemn'd *Miltiades*, banish'd *Themistocles*. After which he went to *Argos*; where living in much Splendor, upon account of his great Endowments, the *Lacedæmonians* sent Ambassadors to *Athens*, with this Accusation against him, That he had made a League with the King of Persia to destroy Greece. For which Crime, tho' absent, he was condemn'd of Treason. Which thing so soon as he heard of, not thinking himself safe at *Argos*, he went to *Corcyra*; where understanding that the Governors of the City were very fearful lest the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* should declare War against them upon this account, he fled to *Admetus* the King of the *Molossians*, who had formerly entertain'd him. But at his first Arrival, not finding the King, that he might be receiv'd by him with the greater Fidelity, he took his little Daughter and carried her with him into the Sanctuary, a Custom which is very Religiously observ'd among the *Molossians*; and from thence he would not stir, till the King had given him his Hand, and receiv'd him into his Patronage; which he afterwards faithfully perform'd. For when he was demanded by the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians*, he would

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\* The Ostracism.

would not deliver him up, but advis'd him to consult his own Safety; for 'twas not likely that he should be secure in a Place so nigh his Enemies. Therefore he commanded him to be carried to *Pydna*, and sent a sufficient Guard with him. Whereupon he went a Shipboard *incognito*; but a great Storm, which then happen'd, drove the Vessel upon the Island *Naxos*, where at that time the *Athenian* Army lay. *Themistocles* thought, if they should put in there he must necessarily perish; so that by this ill Fortune he was forc'd to discover himself to the Master of the Ship, promising great Rewards if he would preserve him. The Master commiserating the Condition of so great a Man, kept his Ship at Anchor for a day and a night a good distance from the Island, and would not suffer any Man to go out of it. From whence he sail'd to *Ephesus*, and there he landed *Themistocles*, who afterwards sufficiently rewarded him for his great Service.

I know that many Authors have reported that *Themistocles* went into *Asia* whilst *Xerxes* was King; but I think *Thucydides* is rather to be credited, who living about that Age, wrote an History of those Times, and was also of the same City; and he says, that he came to *Artaxerxes*, and wrote him a Letter after this manner: *I Themistocles am come unto you; I, who brought so many Calamities*

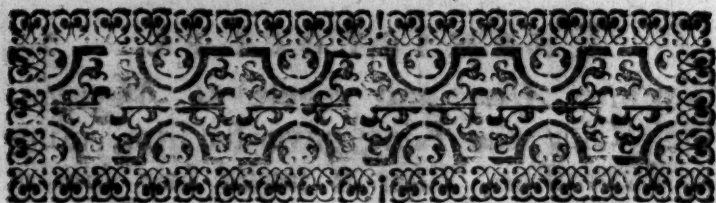
## 24 THE MISTOCLES.

*lamities by the Grecians upon your Family, when I was forc'd to make War with your Father to defend my own Country. But I did him greater Services afterwards, when I was safe, and he in danger; for when he would not go back into Asia, after the Battle at Salamis, I sent him word, that it was then in agitation that the Bridge which he had made over the Hellespont should be broken down, and that he should be surrounded by his Enemies; by which Message he escap'd the Danger. But now here I my self am come, banish'd from all Greece, humbly to intreat your Alliance; which if I may but obtain, you shall find me as great a Friend to you, as I have been a dangerous Enemy to your Father. But I would desire a Year's time to consider of those Affairs, concerning which I intend to treat with you; and when that is expir'd, to permit me to come unto you.*

The King admiring the Greatness of his Spirit, and being desirous to make such a Man his Friend, granted his Request. All which time he spent in his Studies, and in learning the *Persian* Language; in which he became so great a Proficient, that he discours'd the King more elegantly than any of the Natives could. And when he had made several Promises to him, and one especially of that which was most grateful, *viz. The Destruction of Greece, if he would be pleas'd to follow his Advice.* Being highly rewarded by *Artaxerxes*, he returned again.

again into *Asia*, and dwelt at *Magnesia*, which City the King gave to him, using this Expression, *That it would keep him in Bread* (for the Revenues of that Country amounted to fifty Talents yearly), *Lampsacum* would afford him *Wine*; and *Myntes* *Viſuals*. There remain'd but two Monuments of him in our time; his Sepulcher, near the Town, in which he was bury'd, and his Statues in the *Forum* of *Magnesia*. Concerning whose Death Authors much differ; but *Thucydides* seems to us to be most authentick, who says, that he dy'd of a Disease at *Magnesia*. Neither does he deny, but there was a Report of his voluntarily poisoning himself, when he despair'd of conquering *Greece*, as he had promis'd the King. The same Author also says, that his Friends bury'd his Bones in *Athens* by stealth, because the Laws forbid any one to be there interr'd who is condemn'd of *Treason*.





THE  
L I F E  
O F  
*A R I S T I D E S.*

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Done into *English* by Mr. *Mitchell*, M. A.  
of *Trinity Coll. Oxon.*

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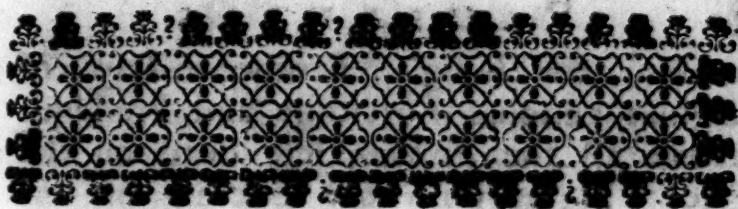
*A R I S T I D E S*, the Son of *Lyf-  
machus*, an *Athenian*, came so near  
to *Themistocles*, that he contested  
his Pre-eminence; which made  
them detract from each other's  
Reputation; and gave a full Example of the  
great Power which Eloquence has over In-  
nocence: For altho' the Integrity of *Aristides*  
was such, that (for ought we yet know) he  
was the only Person whom the World has hi-  
therto thought fit to entitle *the Just*; yet  
he was so run down by *Themistocles*, as to  
be condemn'd, by the *Ostracism*, to ten  
years Banishment. Perceiving that the  
angry Multitude would not be appeas'd, he  
yields

yields to the Necessity of his Misfortune. At his going off, he observes one subscribing to his Banishment, and asks him *his Reason for it; and what has Aristides done, that he must be punish'd in so severe a manner?* The Accuser replies, *That indeed he did not know Aristides; but was not satisfied, that He above all Men should so earnestly endeavour at the Name of Just.* He did not stay out the whole time of his Banishment; for, within six years, *Xerxes* falling into Greece, he was recall'd by an Act of the People. He engag'd in the Sea-Fight at *Salamis*, which was before his Restoration. He led up the *Athenians* in the Battle of *Plataeæ*, wherein *Mardonius* was slain, and the *Persian* Army routed. I find nothing of his Exploits in Military Affairs, except in this Command; but the Effects of his Sincerity, his Justice, and his Goodness, are not easily related; particularly, 'twas by his Conduct, that, when he and *Pausanias* (who was Commander at the Overthrow of *Mardonius*) were in the same Grecian Fleet, the Dominion of the Seas was transferr'd from the *Lacedaemonians* to the *Athenians*; the former, before that time, having been *Lords* both by Sea and Land. The Insolence of *Pausanias*, and the Justice of *Aristides*, were the Cause that most of the Cities of Greece made a Defensive League with the *Athenians*, and offer'd to fight

fight under them against the *Persians*, if there should be occasion. *Aristides* was the Man pitch'd upon to settle the *Quota* of each City, for the building of Ships, and raising an Army. 'Twas by his Advice, that four hundred and sixty Talents were every year laid up at *Delos*; which was appointed to be the Place of the common Treasury; but afterwards all the Money was remov'd to *Athens*. As for his Moderation, there can be no greater Proof of it, than that whereas he had so great Preferments, yet he died so very poor, that he left scarce enough to defray the Charges of his Burial; so that after his Death (which was about four years after the Banishment of *Themistocles*) his Daughters were maintain'd at the Charge of the Publick; and, at their Marriage, had Fortunes paid them out of the common Treasury.



THE

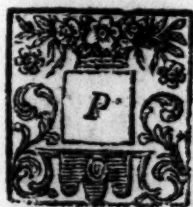


THE  
L I F E  
O F  
PAUSANIAS.

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Done into *English* by Mr. Hoy, Fellow of  
St. John's College, Oxon.

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PAUSANIAS the *Lacedæmonian* was a great Man, but various in all Conditions of Life; for as he was conspicuous for eminent Virtues, he was no less overborne by the contrary Vices. The Glory of that famous Action at *Platæa* is ascrib'd to him. For in that Fight two hundred thousand chosen Foot, and forty thousand Horse, were shamefully beat out of *Greece* by an inconsiderable Handful of Men under his Conduct; and their Lieutenant-General, *Mardonius* a *Mede*,

a *Mede*, the King's \* Brother-in-Law, of singular personal Fortitude and Prudence above all the *Persians*, left dead on the Place. Flusht with the Success of this Victory, his Ambition began to be tampering, and he carry'd an Eye upon greater Designs. But in the very beginning he met with this rub in his way: Having sent to the Temple of *Delphos* a Golden Tripod, found amongst the Spoils, with an Epigram inscrib'd on it to this Effect, *That by his Conduct the Barbarians were cut off at Platææ, and in Acknowledgement of the Victory that Present by him dedicated to Apollo; the Lacedæmonians caus'd the Verses to be raz'd out, and in their stead engrav'd only the Names of those Confederate Cities as had been instrumental in defeating the Persians.*

After this, *Pausanias* was again intrusted with a common Fleet of the Associates for *Cyprus* and the *Hellespont*, to dismantle the Garrisons of the *Barbarians* in those Parts. In which Adventure meeting with the like Success, he began again to behave himself more insolently, and aim'd at greater things than ever. For in the Sack of *Byzantium* taking many of the *Persian* Nobility, and among them some of the  
Blood

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\* So *Gener* is also used by *Justin*, and in this Place cannot be meant otherwise, because his Lady was *Xerxes's* Sister.

Blood Royal, he remitted them privately to *Xerxes*, and sent with them *Gongylus* an *Eretrian*, with Letters to the King (as *Thucydides* delivers) in these Words: *Pausanias* the Spartan General, understanding that some taken at *Byzantium* were nearly related to you, has made you a Present of them, and withal desires to contract an Alliance with you. Wherefore, if you approve of the Proposals, he sues for your Daughter in Marriage, on Condition that by his means both *Sparta* and the rest of *Greece* be put into your Hands. If you think these things worth your Consideration, send an approved Minister, to whom things may be communicated more particularly. The King, extreamly well satisfied at the Safety of so many Personages so near to himself, immediately dispatch'd away *Artabazus* to *Pausanias* with this Answer, That he applauded the Design, and desired nothing should be omitted which might be serviceable to it; promising, in case it took effect, he would never meet a Repulse in any thing he would sue for. *Pausanias* being inform'd of the King's Pleasure, grew so forward in the Business, that he incurr'd the Suspicion of the *Lacedaemonians*, who remanded him home; where he was question'd for his Life; but the Allegations charg'd upon him amounting to no more than high Misdemeanours, he was only fined, and discharg'd from returning to the Navy.

Yet,

Yet, not long after, of his own head he went back to the Army, where he follow'd such indiscreet and rash Practices as confirm'd what hitherto had only been suspected of him. He laid aside not only the severer Moralities of his own Country, but their Fashions and Dress. He appeared in Pomp and Splendour like a foreign King; and came into publick in the *Median Habit*. His Person was guarded by a Retinue of *Medes* and *Egyptians*; his Entertainments were after the *Persian* manner, with greater Luxury than his Friends thought allowable; he was hard of Access; he answered proudly, and commanded cruelly. In fine, he refus'd to return to *Sparta*, but withdrew to *Getonæ*, a Place in the Country of *Troas*, where he engaged in Measures destructive to his Country and himself. The *Lacedæmonians* being certified of this, sent Deputies to him with the \* *Scytala*; in which, after their manner, it was specified, That unless he immediately return'd home, they would pass a *Bill of Attainder* against him. Upon the Receipt of this News he went home, hoping to disperse the Clouds which hung over him, by the Power of his Money and Interest there. But the *Ephori* secured him immediately, in the Name and Behalf of the Com-

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\* A sort of Tally, by which the General was inform'd of their Will. Describ'd by *Plutarch* in the Life of *Lyfander*.

Community. For by the Constitution of that Government this Power over the Prince is repos'd in the Hands of any one of the *Ephori*. However, in some time he got rid of that Grievance, but could not so easily remove the Suspicion he lay under; for it was still mistrusted he dealt underhand with the King. There are a sort of People among the *Lacedæmonians* they call *Helotes*, who are employ'd in manuring the Lands, and performing all other Offices of Slaves: These also it was thought he had endeavour'd to debauch to his Designs with Hopes of *Liberty*. But the Evidence against him being meerly circumstantial, they deferr'd proceeding against a Person of his Name and Quality upon Surmises and Presumptions, till time should make a fuller Discovery.

While these things were in agitation, *Argilius* (a young Man whom *Pausanias* had formerly defiled to satisfy his unnatural Love) being sent by him with a Packet to *Artabazus*, a Suspicion ran in his Head, that there was somewhat in it nearly concern'd himself; because he had observ'd, that none who went thither on the like Errand had ever return'd back. Upon this, breaking up the Seals, he found that on the Delivery of the Letters he was to have been made away; besides many things relating to the Transactions then on foot between the King and *Pausanias*; all which,

† with

with the Letters themselves, he immediately communicated to the *Ephori*. But here the Wariness and Moderation of the *Lacedaemonians* is not to be pass'd by, who suffer'd not themselves to be wrought upon, even by such Proof, to take *Pausanias* into Custody; but forbore to use any Rigour towards him, till such time as his own verbal Evidence should be produc'd against himself; and accordingly they gave Instructions to the Discoverer how to manage this Affair. Now there was a Temple of *Neptune* at *Tenaris*, which the *Greeks* held inviolable: Hither the Discoverer was to fly for Sanctuary, and kneel down before the Altar: Near this they had contriv'd a Place under ground, from whence any one might hear what was discours'd to *Argilius*, where several of the *Ephori* had privately posted themselves. *Pausanias*, as soon as he heard that *Argilius* was fled to the Temple, hastening after him in great Disturbance, found him on his Knees before the Altar; and enquiring into the Occasion of that sudden Motion, he open'd to him the Contents of the Letters. At this *Pausanias's* Disturbance increas'd so far, that he intreated him not to discover or betray one who had formerly deserv'd so well of him; promising for the future, if he would gratify him so far, and be assisting to him under the present Distress, he should find it of very great Advantage to him.

The

The *Ephori*, after this Discovery, concluding it safer to apprehend him in the City, returned thither: And *Pausanias* having, as he thought, made up the business with *Argilius*, was arriv'd on the Place where it was ordered he should be seiz'd; when he perceiv'd a Design out against him, from the Looks of one of the *Ephori*, who had a desire to advertise him of it. By this means he got into the Temple of *Minerva*, call'd \* *Chalciaecus*, a little before his Pursuers; but to hinder his Escape thence, the *Ephori* caus'd the Gates to be block'd up, and threw down the Roof upon his Head, that he might have the speedier Death. His Mother is reported to have been living at that time; and, altho' then of very great Age, when satisfied of the treasonable Practices of her Son, to have brought the first Stone, in order to block up the Entrance into the Temple. Thus *Pausanias* fully'd the Glory of a great General by an ignominious Death. Being taken out of the Rubbish half dead, he immediately expir'd. And tho' some were for disposing the Body as was usual to such as had been executed, yet the Majority were against it; so he was bury'd far from the Place where he died. However afterwards, by the Advice of the *Delphick Oracle*, he was took up again, and interr'd where he ended his Life.

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THE

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\* *Suid.* says, from her Brazen Temple.

THE  
L I F E  
O F  
C I M O N.

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Done into *English* by Mr. Creed, M. A. of  
*Corpus-Christi College, Oxon.*

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*C I M O N*, the Son of *Miltiades*, an *Athenian*, was very unfortunate in his Youth; for his Father not being able to pay his Fine to the People, and dying a Prisoner of the State, *Cimon* was committed to the same Confinement; nor by the Laws of *Athens* could he be releas'd, till he had paid the Mul<sup>t</sup> impos'd on his Father. But he had espoused his own Sister *Espinice*, not so much to gratify his Affection, as to follow the Mode of his Country; for 'twas common with the *Athenians* to marry their own Sisters. One *Callias* (a Man of a fair Estate,

Estate, but of a mean Extraction and Parentage; for out of the Silver Mines he rais'd his Fortune and Wealth) being his Rival, made this Proposal to *Cimon*, that if he would yield to a Divorce, and Resignation of her to him, he then would pay his Debts. But when *Cimon* generously scorn'd to part with his Wife and Sister on such base and mercenary Conditions, she (out of Affection and Charity to him) declar'd that she could not suffer the Son of the great *Miltiades* to be perpetually damn'd to a Prison, when it lay in her Power to procure his Enlargement. Therefore she resolv'd to marry *Callias*, provided he perform'd his part of the Covenant.

*Cimon* having thus obtain'd his Liberty, soon became a Chief Minister of State. For he was a great Master of Rhetorick, a very generous Person, an admirable Civilian, and an expert Soldier; for his Father gave him his youthful Education in a Campaign. Therefore he kept the Citizens in Awe and Subjection; and in the Army he was almost absolute. When he was first a Commander, at the River *Strymon*, he routed a vast Body of the *Thracians*. He built the Town of *Amphipolis*, and planted there a Colony of ten thousand Natives of *Athens*. At *Mycale* he also triumph'd over the Captive *Cyprian* and *Phoenician* Navy, consisting of two hundred Sail. Neither were his Enter-

prizes by Land that day less signal than his Victory by Sea ; for having made himself Master of his Adversaries Fleet, he landed his Soldiers, and at one Onset gave a total Overthrow to the *Barbarian Army*. Having enrich'd himself with the Booty of this Conquest, he returned homewards. For now some Islands had rebelled, under the Pretence of Tyranny and arbitrary Government. Those whom he found loyal, he confirm'd in their Principles; those who had traiterously revolted, he compelled to their Duty and Allegiance. He banished the *Delopes* from the City and Island of *Scyrus* (the present Inhabitants thereof) because their Behaviour was stubborn and obstinate ; and divided their Estates among the new adopted Denisons. At his Arrival, he defeated the *Thasii*, who trusted in the Fortrefs and Sanctuary of their Riches. With the Spoils and Ornaments taken in these Wars the South-side of the Castle at *Athens* was beautified.

When this his prosperous Management of Affairs should have entitl'd him to the greatest Name and Reputation in the City, he had the Fate to be envied, as his Father was, and other *Athenian* Worthies; for by the Majority of Votes inscribed in Shells (which they call'd *Ostracism*) he was condemn'd to a ten Years Exile. For which unnatural Usage the *Athenians* sooner express'd Repen-

tance

rance than *Cimon* his Sorrow. For when with a generous and undaunted Fortitude he bore the Envy of the ungrateful Citizens, and the *Lacedæmonians* had proclaim'd War against the *Athenians*, they immediately perceiv'd the Want of so much experienc'd Valour and Conduct. Therefore after five Years Banishment he was restor'd. He (because he had been courteously entertain'd by the *Lacedæmonians*) \* esteeming it the Interest of both Cities, the Difference should be compos'd without the Decision of the Sword, voluntarily went Ambassador to *Lacedæmon*, and by his successful Negotiation re-instated the two great Rival Cities in Peace and Amity. Not long after he was commission'd to go into *Cyprus* with 200 Ships; and when he had subdued the greater part of the Island, he fell mortally sick, and died in the Town *Citium*.

For many years afterwards the *Athenians* (both in Times of War and Peace) found the want of their Patriot. For he was so free and generous a Gentleman, that tho' he had several Farms and Gardens in his own Possession, yet he never substituted Bailiffs with a Design that they should preserve the Fruits for him, lest any Man, that desired them, might be deprived of his

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\* The *Nimeguen* Edition of *Corn. Nepos* is in this Place follow'd, all the other Impressions of this Author having omitted a material Sentence.

Satisfaction and Enjoyment. His Footmen were always furnished with ready Money, that he might be provided on all occasions to relieve the Necessities of the Indigent, lest the Delay of his Charity might be misconstrued a Denial. If he saw any Man that had the Misfortune to be in a beggarly Habit, he frequently bestowed on him his own Coat. He kept so constant a Table, and such plenty of Provision, that he daily invited all those to Dinner (who were not pre-engag'd) that he met in the publick Places of Assembly. He never refus'd to be any one's Surety, nor denied them his Assistance, or the use of his Goods. Several grew rich on his Bounty and Benevolence. Many poor Wretches, who left not enough behind them to pay for their Burial, he interr'd at his own Charges. Therefore 'tis no wonder, if, by this his Carriage and Behaviour, his Life was free from Danger and Detraction, and his Death untimely and lamented.



THE  
L I F E  
O F  
L Y S A N D E R.

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Done into *Engliſh* by Mr. Kirchevall, M. A.  
of *Corpus-Chriſti* College, Oxon.

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LYSANDER of *Lacedæmon* has left a great Name behind him; which he rather acquir'd by the Kindneſs of Fortune than by any valiant Enterprize. It is clear indeed, that he gave the *Athenians* a ſignal Deſeat in the twenty-fixth year of their War with the *Peloponneſian* State: \* But then we are not ignorant how he gain'd that Victory; for it was never procur'd by the Proweſs of his  
D 4 own

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\* The vulgar Editions read, *idque ratione confeſtus ſit laet*; but others are of opinion, that the original Copy had, *non laet*, which laſt we follow, as moſt agreeable to the Author's Deſign.

own Army, but thro' the unruly Behaviour of his Enemies; who, thro' their Disobedience to their Commander's Orders, and by leaving their Ships unmann'd, and being disorderly scatter'd up and down the Fields, came at length into the Power of *Lyfander's* Forces. Thus the *Athenians* yielded themselves Vassals to the *Lacedamonian* Yoke. *Lyfander*, tho' always seditious before, and a stout Stickler in Factions, yet being puff'd up with this late Success, he now took so much upon him, that by his means the *Lacedamonians* were render'd extreamly odious to *Greece*. For whereas they had given it out, that the only Motive of their War, was to take down the too powerful Dominion of *Athens*; *Lyfander*, after having made himself Master of the *Athenian* Fleet, which rode on the River *Egos*, made it his whole business to keep every City under his own Jurisdiction; all the while pretending he did it purely by the Incitement of the *Lacedamonians*. For they who had favour'd the *Athenians* Proceedings being turn'd out of Office every where, he selected ten out of every City, who were to be intrusted with the Sovereign Sway and Power of all things; none being received into the number of these, but who would either enter himself a Member of his Family, or else would take this Test, *That he would be wholly Lyfander's Creature.*

Thus

Thus the Decemvirate being establish'd in every City, all things were carried on as he pleas'd. For an Example of whose Cruelty and Treachery, it is enough to produce a single Instance, that we may not tire the Reader's Patience, by reckoning up more of his base Actions. When he return'd Conqueror out of *Asia*, and had visited *Thasus* by the way, he greatly desir'd to demolish that City, only for its surpassing Fidelity to the *Athenians*; as if the *Thasians* would now prove their firmest Friends and Allies, who heretofore had been their never-failing Enemies. But he foresaw, if he had discover'd his Intention herein, that the Revolt of the *Thasians* would necessarily have ensu'd, and that they would have stood upon their own Guard in Defence of their Lives and Fortunes —

Therefore that Decemviral Power, \* which he himself had erected only for his own ends, the contrary Party pull'd down; whereat being grievously vex'd and enraged, he contriv'd and plotted how to depose the *Lacedæmonian* Kings. But he found he could never compass this Design without the Assistance of the Gods; for the *Lacedæmonians* had always accusom'd themselves to

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\* *Sibi ab illo constitutam sustulerunt.*

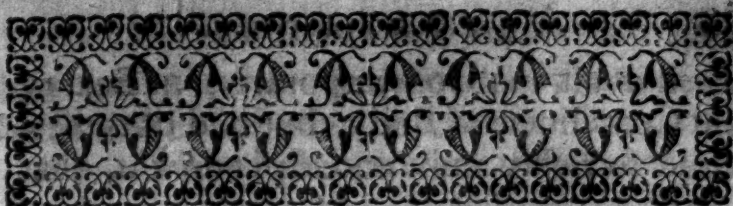
bring every thing to their Oracles Determination. His first Attempt was to seduce that of *Delphi*; but failing there, he ventur'd next upon the Oracle of *Dodona*; and meeting with a Repulse here, then he nois'd it abroad, that he was under an Obligation of paying some Vows to *Jupiter Ammon*, thinking to tamper with the *Africans* at an easier rate. After his Arrival into *Africa*, being buoyed up with these alluring Hopes, he found his Expectations mightily frustrated by *Jupiter's* Priests: For to wheedle them into the Acceptance of a Bribe, was not only a thing unfeasible, but it also made them dispatch away their Deputies to *Lacedæmon* to accuse *Lysander* of Subornation. Being impeach'd of this Misdemeanour, he was acquitted by his Judges; and afterwards being sent to relieve the *Orchomenians*, he was slain at *He-liartus* by the Hands of the *Thebans*. How true a Judgment had been past upon him that Speech discovers to us, which was found in his House after his Death; in which he endeavours to perswade the *Lacedæmonians*, that after they had null'd the Power of their Kings, they would single him out for their General to carry on the War. Now this was penn'd with so much Art, that its whole Frame and Composure seem'd to suit and humour the oracular way of Expression and Delivery; the Pro-  
curement

curement of which he never question'd, relying upon the Strength of his Purse. *Cleon* of *Hallicarnassus* is the reputed Author of this Copy. And here we must not pass by the cunning Contrivance of *Pharnabazus*, a *Persian* Lieutenant of a royal Extraction. For when *Lysander*, Admiral of the Navy, had been guilty of many cruel and covetous Miscarriages in the War, and was suspicious that his Fellow-Citizens had notice of 'em already, he made his Request to *Pharnabazus*, that he would bear him witness before the *Ephori*, with what Sincerity he had manag'd the War, and treated the Allies; and because his Authority and Patronage would be very serviceable to him: herein, he farther requested an accurate Description of his Integrity in Writing. *Pharnabazus*, after his large Promises, fill'd a great Book with many high Expressions in his Commendation; which after *Lysander* had perus'd and approv'd, in the very nick of its sealing, *Pharnabazus* slyly puts down another ready seal'd in its place, of a Size so uniform and so equal to the other, that no Eye could perceive the difference; in which was drawn up a very full Impeachment of *Lysander's* Avarice and Perfidiousness. After his Return Home, and after his Harangue before the Chief Magistrate, as much as he thought fit, upon his own Exploits; at last he produc'd

*Pharnabazus's* Book and Gift, as an authentick Evidence of his unblemish'd Carriage and Deportment. *Lysander* being order'd to withdraw, the *Ephori* employ'd the Interval of his Absence in the Perusal of this Manuscript, and after full Cognizance of its Design and Purport, they delivered it him to read: So this inconsiderate Man at the same time read his own Indictment, and prov'd it.



THE



THE  
L I F E  
O F  
*ALCIBIADES.*

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Done into *English* by Mr. Peers, M. A. of  
*Christ-Church College, Oxon.* and superior  
Beadle of *Physick and Arts.*

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*ALCIBIADES* was the Son of  
*Climias*, an *Athenian*. Nature  
seems in the Production of this  
Man to have exerted the ut-  
most Abilities of her Skill and  
Power; all Authors, who have written con-  
cerning him, agreeing in this, that such a  
Mixture of the most eminent Virtues and  
Vices was never found in any other Person,  
as in *Alcibiades*. The Greatness and Splen-  
dour both of his City and Parentage enno-  
bled his Birth: And as for the Gifts of Na-  
ture and personal Qualifications, he not only  
excell'd

excell'd all his Contemporaries in Beauty and Comeliness of Body, but had likewise a Mind so richly and variously endow'd, that he apply'd himself to all Matters (whether of Business or Pleasure) with unparallel'd Dexterity. Accordingly we find, that he acquitted himself as an excellent Commander both by Sea and Land; and was likewise so thoroughly accomplish'd in the whole Art of Oratory, that he gain'd the Precedence of all others, as well for a powerful Eloquence as a graceful Elocution. Altho' he was exceeding wealthy, yet could he, when the Exigence of Affairs requir'd, endure the severest Toil and Hardship; no Man living at other times with greater State and Abundance, either in what related to his Table, or in his usual Attendance and Equipage. He was moreover extraordinary courteous and affable in his Conversation, and observ'd to be Master of an exquisite Art of Dissimulation and Compliance with all Persons and Occasions. Lastly, as often as he had a Release from publick Business, and some Respite allow'd from Labour and Intention of Mind, he gave himself entirely over to Lust and Luxury, being dissolute and intemperate to such a degree, that those who reflected upon the other Scenes of his Life were struck with Admiration at the wonderful Dissimilitude and Inconsistencies of Nature in the same Person; no  
Man

Man being found to differ more from *Alcibiades* than *Alcibiades* himself.

He had his Education in the House of *Pericles*, his Step-father (for so he is recorded to have been); but for his Learning he was oblig'd to the Care and Instructions of *Socrates*. So that marrying moreover the Daughter of *Hipponicus* (the \* wealthiest Person throughout all the *Grecian* Countries) if he had been to have made his own Choice, he could not have pitch'd upon greater Advantages and Endowments, than had been freely conferr'd upon him by Nature and Fortune. In his greener Years he was belov'd after the manner of the *Grecians*, and that by several; in the Number of whom was his Master *Socrates*, as we are inform'd by *Plato* in his † *Symposium*; where he introduces *Alcibiades* relating, that he lay last Night with *Socrates*, and rose from him in the Morning no other than a Son ought

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\* Divers Copies have it, *Omnium Græca Lingua Eloquentiâ disertissimum*: But this seems not very consistent with the high Commendation given already to *Alcibiades* upon the score of Eloquence: And therefore the other Lession [*Omnium Græcorum ditissimum*] may be thought more genuine; especially since it is collaterally supported by the Authority of *Plutarch*, who only mentions the extraordinary Riches and high Quality of *Hipponicus*.

† A Book so call'd, because it contains Table-Discourse and Entertainment.

ought to do from his own Father. When he came to Maturity of Age, he as industriously prosecuted the same kind of Love towards others, wherein he proceeded as far as the \* Laws were thought to allow; doing many offensive and distasteful things, in the way of Humour and † Frolick, throughout the Course of his amorous Intrigues; divers of which might be related by us, were we not provided of greater Matters, and more fit to be transmitted to Posterity.

In the Time of the *Peloponnesian* War, his Advice and Authority prevail'd with the *Athenians* to break with the People of *Syracuse*, and rig out a Fleet against them. For which Expedition *Alcibiades* himself was also chosen supreme Commander; two Collegues being join'd in Commission with him, *Nicias* and *Lamachus*. But before all Necessaries were provided, and the Navy in a condition to put to Sea, it happen'd one Night, that all the Statues of *Mercury* throughout

\* The ancient *Grecian* Laws are observ'd to have been too favourable and indulgent to that unnatural kind of Love.

† Some of them may be seen in *Plutarch*; particularly his taking away half the Cup-board Plate of his Paramour *Anytus*; who resented it so little, that he only said he was oblig'd to him for taking but half.

throughout the City (\* except that which stood before the Door of *Andocides*, and had from him its usual Denomination) were overturn'd, and thrown down from their Pedestals. Upon this unusual Accident a strange Consternation seiz'd the Minds of the People; † for they consider'd, that the sacrilegious Fact had a publick Aspect and Tendency, and therefore that it must have been committed by no small Number of Persons; which made them apprehensive of an associated Force within the City, able of a sudden to oppress their Liberty, and enslave the Commonwealth.

No Man was thought more capable of heading such a Party than *Alcibiades*, he having already attain'd to a greater Power and Sway than usually was, or safely might

\* This Circumstance was perhaps taken notice of by our Author; because (as *Plutarch* tells us) *Andocides* was thereupon not only suspected of having had a principal Hand in the Action, but committed to Goal, and prosecuted for the same, &c.

† One of the Evidences being ask'd, how he discern'd the Faces of those he accus'd; reply'd, by the Moon-light; and tho' it was answered, that that could not be, because it was then the Dirk of the Moon, yet had not this the least Influence upon the stupidly prejudic'd Multitude. *Plut.*

might be, in the Hands of any single \* Person; so extraordinary was his Influence and Authority among the common People; many of whom he had won by his frequent Largeſſies, and many more by his Patronage and Aſſiſtance in Law-Suits and † Proſecutions. By which Arts he was become ſo popular, that the Eyes of the Multitude were (with a Diſregard to the reſt of the Nobility) continually fix'd upon him whenever he appear'd in publick; ſo that for this reaſon to be look'd upon as the principal Object of the *Athenian* Hopes and Fears; all Men eſteeming him equally capable of promoting the Welfare and Ruin of his Country. Beſides this, he lay under the Scandal of holding religious Conventicles in his Houſe; which thing in it ſelf was accounted a Crime of the higheſt Nature among the *Athenians*; it being moreover the general Opinion, that ſuch ‡ Meetings were  
not

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\* *Privatus* cannot be here applied in the ſtrict and common Acception of the Word to *Alcibiades*, he being apparently no private Perſon in that Senſe; becauſe the *Athenians* had themſelves advanc'd him to a high Station among the principal Magiſtrates of their Commonwealth.

† When a Catalogue of Criminals was brought into Court, he would uſually ſtrike out the Names of ſuch as he had a deſire ſhould not be proſecuted.

‡ Is there any thing (ſays *Solomon*) of which it may be ſaid, ſee this is new? it hath been already of old time which was before us.

not really intended for Devotion, but carrying on of Plots and Conspiracies against the State.

An Indictment was \* therefore brought against him in open Court; but he considering that the Time of his Departure upon the *Sicilian Expedition* drew near, and reflecting upon the usual Proceedings of his Countrymen against absent Criminals, made it his Request to be presently brought to a Trial, and not to be expos'd at a distance to the Craft and Malice of his Enemies. But these, on the contrary, perceiving that they should not otherwise prevail against him, desisted from prosecuting till such time as they concluded him arriv'd in *Sicily*; for then they renewed the Accusation with so much Vigour and Artifice, that he was presently recall'd by the Magistracy, being order'd to appear, and put in his Plea and Defence. Whereupon he readily obeying the publick Summons, and (altho' he had the fairest Hopes of having the Administration of his Province crown'd with Honour and Success) going on board the Gally which was sent to convey him to *Athens*, landed at the City of *Thurii* in *Italy*.  
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\* For breaking down the Statues of *Mercury*, tho' *Plutarch* tells us, his Accusation ran for having celebrated in a profane and ludicrous manner the Mysteries of *Ceres* and *Proserpine*.

But here, his Prudence prevailing over his Resolution, he began to consider the boundless Power which the *Athenian* Populace assum'd to themselves; and the Cruelty with which upon such Occasions they ever treated the Nobility; and therefore judging it more adviseable to withdraw from the impending Storm, he made his Escape from those who had the Custody of him, and fled at first into the Country of *Elis*, and afterwards to the City of *Thebes*; tho' it was not long e'er he remov'd from thence to *Lacedæmon*; Word being brought, that Judgment of Death was pass'd upon him, and that his Estate was confiscated to the Commonwealth; besides (as was usual in such Cases) the Sentence of Excommunication denounc'd against him, (the Priests \* *Eumolpidae* being thereunto compell'd by the Multitude) and a Pillar erected in the most publick Place, with an Inscription engraven thereon to perpetuate the Memory of this religious Execration.

Arriv'd (as is aforesaid) at *Lacedæmon*, he frequently protested, that he had no hostile Intention against his native Country; but only against such Men as were equally Enemies to it and him; for, being sufficiently

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\* The Successors of *Eumolpus*, the Son of the Poet *Musæus*, in that sacred Office.

sufficiently sensible how much his Service contributed to the Prosperity of the State, they had nevertheless thrust him into Exile; as evidently preferring their own private Revenge before the publick Welfare. However, it was not long e'er by his Advice the *Lacedæmonians* contracted an Alliance with the *Persian* King, and strongly fortified *Decelia* in *Attica*; by the Garrison of which Place the City of *Athens* was reduc'd into much the same Condition as if it had been block'd up by a formal Siege; so that the Country of *Ionis* being also by his Endeavours won over from the Interest of the *Athenians*, the *Lacedæmonian* Arms began in all Places to prevail and be victorious.

Yet did not these their Successes so much increase their Love, as awaken their Fears, and alienate their Affections from him; for considering him to be a Person of the acutest Parts, and most experienc'd Prudence in all manner of Affairs, and fearing withal, lest, prevail'd upon by the Dictates of an inbred Tenderneſs for his native Soil, he should one time or other desert their Service, and purchase a Reconciliation with his offended Country, they judg'd it expedient, e'er this should happen, to have him privately assassinated. This Design could not long be conceal'd from *Alcibiades*, he being a Person of so wonderful a Sagacity, that it was impossible for any thing to escape

escape his Knowledge ; especially when the least Surmise or Suspicion had rais'd his Jealousy , and quicken'd his Observation. Withdrawing therefore privately from *Lacedæmon*, he fled to *Tissaphernes* (one of King *Darius's* Lieutenants) with whom altho' he was e'er long admitted into the strictest Bonds of Friendship, yet being much troubled at the rising Greatness of the *Lacedæmonians*, and the languishing Condition into which the *Athenian* Affairs were fallen by their Losses in *Sicily*, he contriv'd, by special Messengers, to treat with his Fellow-Citizen *Pisander* (Prætor or Commander in chief over the Army at *Samos*) concerning his Pardon and Re-admission into his Country ; *Pisander's* concurring with him in an Aversion for the Commonalty, and an equal Favour for the Nobles, encouraging him thereunto. And altho' he quickly found himself disappointed in his Expectations from this Man, yet was he some time after receiv'd by *Thrasybulus*, the Son of *Lycus*, into the *Athenian* Army, which lay at *Samos*, and made a principal Officer in the same ; nor was it long e'er, assisted by the influencing Suffrage of *Theramenes*, he obtain'd a publick Act of Restitution and Indemnity, and was join'd in equal Commission with him and the foresaid *Thrasybulus*.

Under the Command and Conduct of these three Generals the Face of Affairs  
in

in a little time appear'd wonderfully alter'd; nay, it was not long e'er the *Lacedæmonians*, whose Arms had hitherto been every where triumphant, found themselves oblig'd to become humble Supplicants for Peace; and that not without good reason, having been beaten in five Land-Fights, and two Engagements at Sea; in which Engagements their Enemies are recorded to have taken no fewer than two hundred of their Trireme-Gallies. Add to these Successes of the *Athenians* the Recovery of *Ionia* and *Helle-spont*, with many *Grecian* Towns seated upon the Coast of *Asia*. In the Number of those Cities that were forcibly subdued was *Byzantium*; there being divers others which were won over to an Alliance by the politick Clemency with which all Places were treated by them, as they happen'd to be successively conquer'd.

After these great Atchievements the three Generals returned to *Athens*, bringing back an enrich'd and victorious Army; the same being equally laden with Spoil and Glory. But as soon as they were enter'd into the Harbour of the \* *Piræum*, the City being in a manner deserted by its Inhabitants,

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\* It lay at a considerable distance from the City, to which it was join'd by a strong Wall. See the Life of *Themistocles*.

tants, so great was the Confluence about *Alcibiades's* Gally, that the Sight and Reception of him alone seem'd to have drawn forth the gazing and transported Multitude; who at this time firmly believ'd, that the present happy and late calamitous Conditions of their Affairs were both entirely owing to him; yet blaming themselves for the loss of *Sicily*, and the victorious Exploits of the *Lacedæmonians*, since the same were wholly to be imputed to the Expulsion of so brave a Man out of their Commonwealth. Nor indeed was this an ill-grounded Opinion, seeing that from the very time of his Re-admission into Command, their Enemies could never prove an equal Match for them either by Sea or Land.

No sooner was he come on Shore, but (without the least notice taken of *Theramenes* and *Thrasybulus*, who landed at the same time, and had a joint Interest with him in the late Atchievements) the whole Body of the People crowded up towards *Alcibiades*; many of them presenting him, according to their different Abilities, with Coronets of Gold or Brass; an Honour never done before but to such as were Victors in the *Olympick* Games. Calling to mind his forepast Sufferings, he could not abstain from Tears as he received these kind Testimonies of Reconciliation from his Fellow-

low-

low-Citizens ; and as soon as he came into the City, a solemn Assembly being held, he made so passionate a Speech to them, that he forc'd the natural Expressions of Sorrow in equal abundance from the Eyes of all that heard him ; those even of the most unrelenting Temper among them lamenting his hard Usage, and declaring themselves utter Enemies to such as had procured his Banishment : So that any Man, who had been a Stranger to their Affairs, would certainly have concluded, that some other People, and not the very same Persons by whom he was now surrounded, had pass'd the former severe Sentence, and condemn'd him of Sacrilege. Hereupon his Estate, which had been confiscated, was restored to him by publick Edict ; the Priests *Eumolpidae* being also commanded to take off his Excommunication, and the Pillars on which the same had been engraven, to be thrown into the Sea.

These obliging Smiles of kindest Fortune were of no considerable Duration to *Alcibiades* ; for when the highest Honours had by solemn Decree been conferr'd upon him, the Conduct and Management of all Affairs, both civil and military, being put into his Hands, and *Thrasybulus* and *Adimantus* at his Request assign'd him for Collegues, passing over with a Fleet into *Asia*, and fighting

ing unsuccessfully at \* *Cuma*, he fell again into the Displeasure of the Populace. The Reason hereof was, that they universally believ'd him able to accomplish whatsoever he took in hand; so that every ill Success was imputed to his Negligence or Treachery; to the latter of which they attributed the unprosperous Attempt made upon *Cuma*; none of them doubting, but that he could have taken the Place, had he not been corrupted to the betraying of his Trust by the *Persian* King. Indeed the principal Cause of the several Calamities that befel him, seems to have been the extravagant Opinion that all Men had conceiv'd of his Valour and Prudence; from whence sprung the two different Passions of Love and Fear; and from whence at length it came to be generally dreaded, lest, puff'd up with his great Successes, and supported by as great Riches, he should grasp at the Sovereignty, and endeavour the enslaving of their free State.

These were the Considerations that induced them to pass a Vote for depriving him, tho' absent, of his high Office, and sub-

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\* Yet are we told by others, that the most fatal Miscarriage in this Expedition happen'd upon the Coast of *Ionia*; where *Antiochus* (a hot-headed Vice-Admiral) in *Alcibiades's* Absence, and contrary to his express Command, engaging the *Lacedemonian* Fleet, was soundly beaten by the same.

substituting another in his Place; the News whereof being brought to *Alcibiades*, he judg'd it not expedient to return Home; and therefore passing \* over to *Perinthus*, he compleatly fortified the three strong Holds of *Bornos*, *Bisanthe*, and *Macronteichos*; and from thence marching with a sufficient Body of Men, he seems to have been the first *Grecian* that made an Inroad into the Countries of *Thrace*; and this he did, as being unwilling to infest any part of *Greece*, and judging it more honourable to enrich himself with the Spoils † of the *Barbarians*; by which means he not only made great Acquisitions in Wealth and Reputation, but obtain'd of certain *Thracian* ‡ Kings to be admitted into their Friendship and Alliance.

But by no kind of Fortune could *Alcibiades*'s Soul be divested of a tender Affection for his native Country; and this he sufficiently manifested about this time, by the

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Ad-

\* With certain Forces rais'd and maintain'd at his own Charge. *Plut.*

† This Word has been a long while us'd to signify savage, illiterate and unciviliz'd; but was at first apply'd by the haughty *Grecians* (as a Term of Distinction) to all Nations whatsoever that spoke not their Language.

‡ His Incurfions and Depredations being (as we are inform'd by *Plutarch*) made upon a sort of free People, and such as were subject to no King.

Advice given to *Philocles*, Commander in chief over the *Athenian Fleet* in the River *Ægos*; *Lyfander* the *Lacedæmonian Admiral* lying at no great distance from him, and desiring by all means to prolong the War; because he knew that the *Athenians* had nothing left besides their Weapons and Gallies (their publick Exchequer being quite exhausted), and that the Forces of his own Country at the same time were supported and maintain'd by a constant Supply of Money from the *Persian King*. Neither were these things conceal'd from *Alcibiades*, who therefore coming to the *Athenian Army*, spoke publicly in the hearing of the common Soldiers to this effect: That if they pleas'd to accept of his Service, he made no doubt of forcing *Lyfander*, with his whole Fleet, to come to the Decision of a Battle, or else to make submissive Overtures of Peace. That the *Lacedæmonians* were indeed unwilling to run the Hazard of a Sea-Fight, because their main Strength and Confidence lay in their Land-Forces; but that he could easily prevail with *Seuthes*, the *Thracian King*, to drive them from Land; and that then they would be necessitated, either to come to fair Terms of Accommodation with the *Athenians*, or venture all upon the doubtful Issue of an Engagement at Sea.

This Advice, as it was not really dislik'd, so neither was it embrac'd by *Philocles*; who well knew, that if *Alcibiades* were

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admitted

admitted to a Conjunction with him, he himself should be but an empty Cypher in the whole Action; and let the Event prove prosperous, or otherwise, that on the one hand, he should have no share in the Glory; and on the other, no Partner in the Discredit and Ignominy of such an Undertaking. *Alcibiades* therefore, finding that his Counsel was not accepted, told *Philocles* at his Departure, that he would only leave this short Caution with him, to lie as near the Enemy as might conveniently be with his naval Camp; and to take care, lest, by the Licentiousness and loose Discipline of his Soldiers, the *Lacedæmonians* should have an Opportunity put into their Hands of surprizing his Fleet, and ruining the whole Army. Nor did the Event prove this a groundless Apprehension; for shortly after, *Lyfander* being inform'd by his Scouts, that the main of the *Athenian* Forces were gone ashore, and were eagerly employ'd in harassing and plundering the Country (their Ships in the mean time being left almost empty and defenceless,) by one brisk and sudden Attack gave their Navy a \* total

E 3

Over-

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\* *Conon* escap'd only with eight Gallies out of about two hundred (if we believe *Plutarch*), tho' our Author in the Life of *Conon* mentions it as a great Unhappiness to the *Athenians*, that he was absent at the time of that Engagement. However  
this

Overthrow, and put an unexpected Period to the War.

After this fatal Blow receiv'd by the *Athenians*, *Alcibiades* judging it unsafe for him to make any longer stay in those Parts, withdrew into the more inward Regions of *Thrace*, lying above the *Propontis*; not doubting but in such a Place his Fortune and Quality might easily be kept undiscover'd. But it was not long e'er he found that he was mistaken; for a Body of *Thracians*, who had Information of his great Wealth, placing themselves in Ambuscade, surpriz'd and plunder'd all his Carriages; wherefore, having himself narrowly escap'd out of their Hands, and considering that (by reason of the great Power and Authority of the *Lacedaemonians*) no part of *Greece* could afford him a safe Retreat, he fled into *Asia* to *Pharnabazus*, who was presently so taken with his courteous Deportment and obliging Address, that the first Place in this great Man's Favour seem'd to be given to *Alcibiades*; who shortly after receiv'd from him, as a special Testimony of Affection, the Fortress of *Grunium* in *Phrygia*;

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this was, certain it is, that the *Athenians* were hereupon little less than absolutely conquer'd, *Lysander* shortly after taking the City of *Athens* it self, and putting the Government thereof into the Hands of thirty special Magistrates of his own Choice and Appointment.

gia; the Castellany whereof yielded him no less than fifty Talents yearly Income.

But this plentiful Fortune brought no real Contentment to *Alcibiades*; of which his Mind was absolutely incapable, so long as the *Athenian* continued in Subjection to the *Lacedamonian* State. The whole Bent of his Soul was therefore towards the delivering of his Country from that inglorious Yoke and Bondage. But this he foresaw could not be effected without the Assistance of the *Persian* King, whose Amity was therefore to be procur'd in the first place; and of that he assur'd himself, if he might but obtain free Access to his Person. For having secret notice of the \* War intended against the King by his Brother *Cyrus*, with the Assistance of the *Lacedamonians*, he question'd not, but by discovering this Confederacy, he should purchase to himself the highest degree of Favour and Affection.

While *Alcibiades* was contriving how to put this Design in execution (having already requested of *Pharnabazus*, that he might be admitted into the Presence of the King,)

E 4

*Critias*

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\* Our Author does not term it a Rebellion or Conspiracy, because *Cyrus* was no Liege Subject to *Artaxerxes*, their Father *Darius* (as we are told by *Justin*) having by Will given the former the absolute Sovereignty of those Territories over which he had before presided as his Lieutenant.

*Critias* and the rest of the *Athenian* \* *Tyrants* dispatch'd certain Messengers into *Asia*, by whom they gave *Lysander* to understand, that the Articles agreed upon between him and the *Athenians* must be ratified by being seal'd with the Blood of *Alcibiades*; and that the Death of that Man was to be pursu'd by him, as he tender'd the Establishment and Perpetuity of his own Exploits and Constitutions. *Lysander* was so far wrought upon by this positive † Message, that he resolv'd

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\* He means the thirty Magistrates set over the *Athenians* by *Lysander*, and call'd by them *Tyrants*; a Name originally not only of innocent, but most honourable Signification, being us'd simply for a King, or supreme Governour, and apply'd by the *Grecian* Poets even to *Jupiter*, and the rest of their kindest and best respected Gods; but by a Republican Abuse of the Word brought to connote the greatest Cruelty and Oppression; tho' the Truth is, if a Man would be acquainted with *Tyrants* and *Tyranny* in that Sense, (in which indeed the Words have long ago universally obtain'd) he may most probably find them where thirty or forty, or perhaps rather (as some Nations have sadly experienc'd) three or four hundred Persons are (by what means soever) possess'd of the Sovereign Power.

† This must be taken not for a Menace, but a piece of Advice from the thirty to *Lysander*, their Interest and his being embark'd in the same Bottom; and they (as may be collected from *Plutarch*) beginning now to be apprehensive of no small Danger from *Alcibiades*, whom they perceiv'd (tho' in Exile) to be in a fair way of recovering his former Esteem and Authority with the common People.

resolv'd to deal effectually with *Pharnabazus*; and therefore sent him express Word, that the Alliance between his King and the *Lacedæmonians* should be null and void, unless he took care that *Alcibiades*, either alive or dead, were deliver'd into their Hands; wherefore the *Perſian* Governour (preferring his Master's Interest before all the Laws of Humanity and Friendship) immediately employ'd *Susamithres* and *Bagoas* to surprize and murder him as he lay in *Phrygia*, and was \* providing for his Journey to the King. These Assassins arriv'd accordingly with great Speed and Expedition at the place of his Abode; and not daring openly to assault him, they set Fire on the House wherein he lay; as hoping to accomplish by Stratagem what their Courage despair'd of effecting. And yet had they like to have been disappointed in their Expectation; for *Alcibiades* being rous'd by the crackling of the Fire, and missing his Sword, (which it seems had been privily conveyed

E 5                      away)

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\* Others say, that *Pharnabazus* being inform'd of *Cyrus's* Design by *Alcibiades* (who had in vain desir'd by his means to have Admission to *Artaxerxes*, and was therefore about giving notice of the same to another of the King's Lientenants) resolv'd to have him cut off, that so the Merit of the Discovery might be wholly his own.

away) he took the Dagger of his \* Friend and Companion (a certain *Arcadian* that lodged with him, and could never be induc'd to desert him in his lowest Condition,) and bidding him follow after, pass'd boldly through the Flames; the Violence whereof was somewhat abated by the throwing in of such Clothes and Household-Stuff as came next to hand. But before he could make his Escape, and get quite off, he was overtaken and slain by the † darted Weapons of the distant Assassins; by whom his Head being carry'd away as a welcome Present to *Pharnabazus*, an affectionate ‡ Female (the constant Sharer both of his good and bad Fortune) took the Body, and wrapping it in her own Vestment, committed it to the Flames; the same Fire that had in vain been kindled for his Destruction when alive, being now converted to the kinder Uses of a Funeral Pile.

Thus died *Alcibiades*, about the fortieth Year of his Age; a Person of whom  
we

\* Tho' our Author terms him *Hospes* and *Familiaris* (which last Word may indeed be taken to signify a menial Servant) yet by what follows (*viz. qui nunquam discedere voluerat*) he should seem before this time to have worn off those inferiour and distant Relations.

† He was slain with Darts and Arrows, says *Plut.*

‡ *Timandra*, suppos'd by many to be the Mother of *Lais*, the famous *Corinthian* Courtezan. *Plut.*

we find but a scurvy Character given by the generality of Writers ; yet has he obtain'd the highest Commendations from three very grave and authentick Historians ; *Thucydides*, his Cotemporary ; *Theopompus*, a somewhat more modern Author ; and *Timæus* ; the two latter of which were Persons of the most censorious Humour, and observ'd (by I know not what strange Fate) to have concurr'd in the Praises of no other Man but *Alcibiades*. For even by them are the same advantageous Particulars deliver'd concerning him, which are already related by us, and to which may moreover be added, from the same Writers ; *That being born in Athens, a City for State and Grandeur second to none, he out-went the noblest of his Fellow-Citizens in Splendour and Magnificence of Life ; and yet when driven from hence he arriv'd at Thebes, he so far comply'd with the Genius of that People (the Bœotians in general employing their time in acquiring a robust Habit of Body, and not improving the Faculties of the Mind) that he excell'd them all as well in Strength and Firmness of Limbs, as in cheerfully undergoing the most toilsom Labour. When he came among the Lacedæmonians, who account it the highest pitch of Virtue to endure such kind of Hardship, he so readily accommodated himself to their penurious way of Living, that in a little time he had not his Equal for Abstinence and Parsimony, either in*

Garb or Diet. After this, dwelling among the Thracians, a People generally addicted to the Enjoyments of Love and Wine; even here had he also the Precedence allow'd him beyond Competition: And coming at length into Persia, where Labour and Industry in Hunting, and Luxury and Excess in Feeding, are of greatest Reputation, he acquitted himself to the Admiration of all Men. So that wheresoever he came, he got the general Love and Respect of the People; being presently accounted the most accomplish'd Person for such Qualifications as were in every Country of highest Estimation. But enough of this Man; let us now proceed to give an account of others.





THE  
L I F E  
O F  
*THRASYBULUS.*

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Done into *English* by Mr. *Gilman*, M. A.  
of *Magdalen College, Oxon.*

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*THRASYBULUS*, the Son of *Lycus*, and by Birth an *Athenian*, was a Person whom I should not stick to place in the Front of all the *Grecian* Worthies, if his Fortune had been any way answerable to his Deserts. Without doubt he outshone them all in Fidelity, Resolution, Greatness of Soul, and an inviolable Affection for his Country. And altho' many boasted themselves born of more antient Families, yet none outstrip'd him in any other Accomplishment of a great Man. Whoever rescues his native Country from the Oppression of one *Tyrant*, does so brave an Action,

Action, that many Men have attempted, but few have had the Honour of atchieving; yet was it this Man's good Fortune to free his, groaning under the intolerable Burthen of thirty at once. His Valour was first fledg'd in the *Peloponnesian* War; where being in a joint Commission, he did many great Exploits without *Alcibiades*, tho' *Alcibiades* did nothing without him; all his Actions expressing an ardent Desire to promote the good of the Common-wealth. But in pitch'd Battels the Strength and Number of Forces is as much to be rely'd on as the most excellent Conduct; and the private Soldier justly claims a share in the Glory of the Action with the Commander. Besides, Fortune sometimes lets them know, that Success depends neither upon one, nor the other; but is solely at her Disposal. Wherefore, the most glorious of all Actions *Thrasybulus* may justly claim to be properly his own; for when *Athens* was miserably harass'd and torn by the *Arbitrary Proceedings* of those thirty Burgomasters, set up (as it were a *Council of State*) by the *Lacedamonians*, during whose uncontrollable Sway, many of the eminent Citizens were kill'd, some (preserv'd by Fate from the Danger of the War) were banish'd, and many others had their Estates confiscated and divided amongst

amongst the Usurpers ; he only (not as a General, but) singly proclaim'd open War against them ; and when he fled to *Phyle* (the strongest and best fortified Castle in *Attica*) he had scarce thirty Confederates. So weak were the Foundations of the Design by which the Liberty of that Illustrious City was asserted. He was not despicable for his Person and Parts, but was contemn'd for his inconsiderable Party ; which at last prov'd of great Consequence to him ; as the accomplishing his Design for the Relief of his Country, and the utter and final Ruin of its Enemies. For they, lull'd in their own Security, neglected a speedy and vigorous Prosecution ; and consequently gave him a longer time to make himself more considerable both for Men and Money. Whence is evinc'd the Truth of that common Axiom, *In War no Advantage is to be slept* ; and is not without reason said, *The Mother of a Coward need never fear*. Yet all this while *Thrasybulus's* Supplies and Assistances bore no proportion to his Expectations. For even in those Days Men were more lavish of their Words than Actions, and more hotly disputed their Liberty with their Tongues than their Swords. From *Phyle* he march'd to *Pyræum*, and fortifies *Munichia* ; which Place his Enemies twice attempting to take by Storm, in two general Assaults, were as often

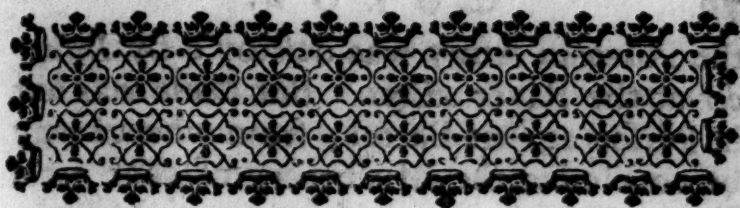
often beat back with considerable Damage: and at last forc'd to retire into *Athens* with the Loss of all their Arms and Baggage. *Thrasybulus* in the mean time manages his Affair with as great Wisdom as Courage, and commands that Quarter should be given to all those who would accept it; saying, it was but reasonable, *that Fellow-Citizens should spare one another.* Neither indeed was there any Person hurt afterwards, but those who continued in a Posture of Hostility. He suffer'd none to be stript of their Cloaths, nor touch'd a part of the Plunder, only Arms (for which he had urgent occasion) and Victuals. In this second Conflict fell *Critias*, the primier Burgo-master, after he had fought valiantly. *Critias* being slain, *Pausanias*, King of the *Lacedaemonians*, comes to the Assistance of the *Athenians*; and at length concludes a Peace between both Parties on these Terms: First, That no Citizen (except the thirty Tyrants, and the ten Pretors, who exactly copied those Originals of Cruelty in their Actions) should suffer Banishment. Secondly, That no Person's Estate should be sequester'd. And thirdly, That Democracy should be re-establish'd, and the Sovereign Power remain in the Hands of the People. One more remarkably great Action of his we must by no means forget: When Peace was settled, and he bore a  
great

great Sway in the City, he enacted a Law, that no Man should be accus'd, or any way punish'd, for any thing that was past. This was afterwards call'd an *Act of Oblivion*. But not satisfied with the bare enacting of such a Law, he took a mighty care in the just and strict Execution of it; and check'd some of the Partakers of his Misery in Banishment, who would have made Havock of those Men they had so lately receiv'd into Favour. For these great and illustrious Actions, *Thrasybulus* was honour'd by the People with a Coronet made of Olive Branches; a mean Reward indeed, but attended with these Advantages, that it was in no manner extorted, but a voluntary and hearty Testimony of the Peoples Affection; and was therefore an Honour free from the Detractions of Envy or Emulation. For as *Pittacus* (a Man justly register'd in the Catalogue of the seven Wise Men of Greece) well observ'd to the *Mitylenæans*, when they would have given him many thousand Acres of Land for a Reward; Don't ye, says he, give me so noble a Present, that many will envy, and more will covet; I will only accept of an hundred Acres, which is sufficient to shew your good Will, and my own Modesty. Great Favours are often snatcht away, whilst little ones, below Envy, are longer enjoy'd. *Thrasybulus* therefore, highly pleas'd with this petty Crown, sought

fought no other Satisfaction ; but look'd upon himself to be as much honour'd as any of his Cotemporaries. In process of time, going Admiral to *Cilicia*, and his Soldiers being very remiss when they were upon their Guard, he was in a Sally surpriz'd in his Tent, and slain by the *Barbarians*.



THE



THE  
L I F E  
O F  
C O N O N.

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Done into *English* by Mr. *Jenesar* of *Mag-*  
*dalen College, Oxon.*

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**C** O N O N, an *Athenian*, became great in the Esteem of the Common-wealth at the *Peloponnesian* War; where his Conduct was signally heroick. For he was Captain-General of the Land-Forces, and Admiral at Sea, and perform'd noble Achievements; which made him the Darling of the People, who constituted him Governor of all their Islands; in which Commission he took *Pharæ*, a Colony of the *Lacedæmonians*. He was also Captain-General in the last *Peloponnesian* War, when the Flower of the

the *Athenian* Army was destroy'd by *Lyfander* at the River *Ægos*. But *Conon* was not in Person at that Bartel; from whence may be concluded the Misfortune of that fatal Day. For he weigh'd every Military Action, and was even jealous in acquitting himself like a General. Which makes it highly probable, that his personal Valour and Conduct might have diverted that Massacre of the *Athenians*.

Yet in this sad Destruction, when he heard the Groans of his Country, he consulted not his own Safety and Retirement, but the Relief of his disconsolate Countrymen. He hastned therefore to *Pharnabazus*, Lieutenant of *Ionia* and *Lydia*, who was Son-in-Law to the King; into whose Favour he insinuated himself, tho' not without great Intrigue and Hazard. For when the *Lacedæmonians* (*Athens* lying gasping) had broke their League which they had made with *Artaxerxes*, and had sent *Agefilaus* with an Army into *Asia* (where he was often caress'd by *Tissaphernes*, who was formerly the Familiar of the King, but had revolted from all the Endearments of his Prince, and combin'd with the *Lacedæmonians*); *Pharnabazus* march'd against him as General, tho' in reality *Conon* was chief, and his warlike Judgment controll'd the whole Council. He stopt the career of *Agefilaus*, that so much renown'd Captain, and con-

confounded all his Stratagems ; and 'twas the wise Conduct of *Conon* which prevented *Agefilaus* from renting that part of *Asia* on this side *Taurus* from the *Persian* Empire. *Agefilaus* being remanded Home by the *Lacedæmonians*, who were embroil'd in a War with the *Bæotians* and *Athenians*, *Conon* took that Opportunity to ingratiate himself with the *Persian* Nobility, and soon became their only Oracle.

At this time the Malecontent *Tissaphernes* had quitted the Court, of which the King was only incredulous ; so great a Share had *Tissaphernes* in the royal Favour, tho' in this very time of his disloyal Villany. Neither is it strange, that the King was unwilling to mistrust this his Creature, when he call'd to mind, that by his Prowess he quell'd his Brother *Cyrus*. Therefore *Conon* was sent by *Pharnabazus* to accuse *Tissaphernes* before the King ; who being arriv'd, according to the Custom of the *Persians*, he came to *Tithraustes*, a Tribune and principal Officer of State, requesting that he might be introduc'd ; without which Ceremony none are admitted. To whom *Tithraustes* said, there should be no Delay : But (said he) you must consult whether it were better to have an Audience, or to signify your Business by Letter ; for if you come into the royal Presence, you must fall down before the King, which they call

\* *Divine*

\* *Divine Homage*: But if you cannot comply with this, trust me to interceed for you, and you shall certainly attain your Desire. Then *Conon* reply'd, I could very chearfully pay any Honour to the King; but I fear lest it should be a dishonourable Blemish to my Country, if I should prostitute my self to the Slavery of a *Barbarian*, who came from that People who by Nature are accustom'd to govern. He therefore deliver'd his Business in a Letter; which being made known to the King, he was so taken with his commanding Deportment, that he proclaim'd *Tissaphernes* a Traitor, commission'd *Conon* to fight the *Lacedæmonians*, and to elect whom he pleas'd to raise Money for the War. Which Choice *Conon* modestly denied to be in his Province, but in the King's, who best understood the Condition of his People; yet that it was his humble Advice, that he would confer that Office on *Pharnabazus*. After this, being honour'd with great Presents, he was commission'd to Sea, that he might convey the Gallies to the *Cyprians*, *Phœnicians*, with the other Port-Towns; and that he should rig a Navy, to secure the Seas the following Summer; in which Commission *Pharnabazus* was his  
Colleague,

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\* *Græci vocant μεγαλυνεῖν, venerabundè salutare.*

Colleague, as he had petition'd. So soon as the *Lacedæmonians* heard this, they acted with great Judiciousness; because they foresaw a more dangerous War, than if they had been engag'd only against the petulant *Persian*. For they were now to grapple with a bold and wary General, intrusted with the whole *Persian* Power; against whom their Stratagems of War were as ridiculously vain as their Strength. With this Resolution they contract a formidable Navy, and set sail under *Pisander*; whom *Conon* assaulted at the River *Cnidus*, and after a desperate Fight routed: Many Ships he took, and many he sunk; by which Victory not only *Athens*, but all *Greece*, was freed from the Yoke of the *Lacedæmonians*. *Conon* with part of the Navy return'd to his own Country, was very solicitous in rebuilding the Walls of *Athens*, with the Haven *Pyræum*, which were demolish'd by *Lysander*; and gave his Fellow-Citizens fifty Talents, which he had receiv'd of *Pharnabazus*.

Yet it happen'd to this great Man as to the ignoble *Pesantry*, who was more improvident in the smoother than in the rugged part of his Life; for having vanquish'd the *Peloponnesian* Squadrons, and satisfied the revengeful Thirst of his Country, he aim'd at higher Things than his Policy could possibly reach; all which Attempts were pious  
and

and honourable, in as much as he preferr'd the Welfare of *Athens* before the King's. For when he had acquir'd a splendid Eminency by the Sea-Fight at *Cnidus*, he began slyly to whisper among the *Persians* and all the Cities of *Greece*, that *Ionia* and *Æolis* should be surrender'd to the *Athenians*. But this Design taking vent, *Teribazus* Lieutenant of *Saradis* inveigled *Conon* to come to him, pretending to send him to the King upon an Embassy of great Importance. *Conon* obey'd the Message; and as soon as he arriv'd, was secur'd in Fetters, which he bore for some time. Others write, that he was brought to the King, and died there. Yet *Dion* the Historian, in whom we most confide, in *Persian* Story informs us, that he escap'd; and seems only to doubt, whether it were by the Design or Inadvertency of *Teribazus*.



THE



THE  
L I F E  
O F  
D I O N.

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Done into *English* by Mr. Clarke, M. A.  
and Fellow of *All-Souls College, Oxon.*

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*DION* of *Syracuse*, Son to *Hipparinus*, descended from a noble Family, and was of Kin to both *Dionysius's*, the Tyrants. For the elder of them married his Sister *Aristomache*; by whom he had two Sons, *Hipparinus* and *Nysæus*; and as many Daughters, *Sophrosyne* and *Areta*. *Sophrosyne* he gave to his Son and Successor *Dionysius*, and *Areta* was allotted to be *Dion's* Wife; who, besides his noble Relations, and the Reputation deriv'd to him from his Ancestors, was oblig'd to Nature. for many rare Endowments; among  
F which,

which, an \* Aptness to learn, a † courteous Behaviour, and a Disposition to brave Actions, were conspicuous: Nor was he less happy in a comely and graceful Presence. Besides, his Father left him a vast Estate, which was increas'd by the ‡ Gifts of the Tyrant. He had a great Intimacy with *Dionysius* the Father, to which his personal Merits were as instrumental as his Affinity; for tho' he lik'd not *Dionysius's* Cruelty, yet he endeavour'd his Safety upon account of their Alliance, but chiefly with respect to his own Relations. He was consulted with in Matters of the greatest Concern; and the Tyrant was very much sway'd by his Advice, unless in those things where the Prevalence of his own Affections over-rul'd. All Embassies of Note were perform'd by him; in which his Civility, together with his faithful and diligent Administration of Affairs, took off from that Imputation of Cruelty, which *Dionysius* generally lay under. The *Carthaginians*, to whom he was sent by the Tyrant, honour'd him highly, infomuch that they never had any *Grecian* in more Admiration. Neither  
was

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\* *Plato* says the same in the 7th Epistle.

† Contradicted by *Plutarch* in his Life, and *Plato* in his 4th Epistle at the end.

‡ The Treasurers had Orders to give him whatever he desired. *Plut.*

was *Dionysius* ignorant of these things, nor insensible how great an Ornament he was to him; from whence it came to pass, that *Dion* was most in his Favour, and lov'd by him as a Son. So that when 'twas reported in *Sicily*, that *Plato* was come to *Tarentum*, he did not only give the young Man (who had a great desire to be one of his Hearers) leave to invite him thither; but, after the Grant, brought him in great State to *Syracuse*. For him *Dion* had so great a Love and Veneration, that he wholly yielded himself to his Disposall; which was answer'd by *Plato*, who took no less Delight in him. For altho' he was cruelly misus'd by the Tyrant, who gave order he should be sold for a Slave; yet at *Dion's* Request he had leave to return. In the mean time *Dionysius* fell sick; \* and his Distemper increasing upon him, *Dion* went to the Physicians, to enquire how he did; and withal intreated them to let him know, if his Life were in great Danger, because he intended to discourse him about dividing the Kingdom; part of it, in his Opinion, being due to those Sons his Sister had by him. This Enquiry the Physicians did not conceal, but carried it to *Dionysius* the younger; who was so much con-

F 2

cern'd,

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\* He surfeited at a Feast which he made for Joy he was declared Victor in Poetry. *Died. Sicul. lib. 15.*

cern'd, that to prevent any Conference between *Dion* and his Father, he forc'd the Physicians to give the latter a sleeping Portion; which the old Man took, and slept his last.

Such was the beginning of the Quarrel between *Dionysius* and *Dion*; which many things afterwards fomented. However, for some time there remain'd an Appearance of Friendship; so that *Dion* being urgent with him to send for *Plato* from *Athens*, and make use of his Counsel, he comply'd with his Desire, that in something he might be like his Father, and at the same time brought \* *Philistius* the Historian back to *Syracuse*, a Man who was equally a Friend to the Tyrant and his Tyranny. But of this I have said more in my Book of the Greek Historians. As for *Plato*, his Eloquence and Authority so much influenc'd *Dionysius*, that by his Persuasion he was resolv'd to restore the *Syracusians* their Liberties, and put an end to the Tyranny; but being deterr'd by *Philistius* from executing his Intention, he became more cruel than before. Finding therefore, that *Dion* had the Advantage of him in Parts, in Authority, and the Love of the People, he fear'd their staying together might be an occasion  
of

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\* *Plato* calls him *Philistides*. Epist. 3.

of his own Ruin; upon which he gave him a Galley to transport him to *Corinth*; telling him withal, that what he did was for both their sakes; lest out of the mutual Fear which was between them, one might be apt to supplant the other. This Action was highly resented by many, and drew great Envy upon the Tyrant; who, to make the World believe that he did it not out of Hatred to the Man, but meerly for his own Security, shipp'd off all his Moveables, and sent them to him. But \* afterwards, when he heard that *Dion* was raising Forces in *Peloponnesus*, with Design, if he were able, to fall upon him, he married his Wife *Areta* to † another; and order'd his ‡ Son's Education in such manner, that by giving him his swing he might be tainted with all sorts of Vices. For while he was yet a Boy, they brought him Whores, and so ply'd him with Wine and Feasts, that he never had leisure to be sober. Insomuch that when his Father return'd, and set Governors over him, to reclaim him from his former way of living; he, not able to endure such a Change in his course of Life,

F 3

threw

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\* *Plutarch* says, that the Marriage of *Areta* to *Timocrates* was before *Dion's* Preparations for War.

† *Timocrates*.

‡ *Hipparinus*, or *Hipparion*; or, as *Timeus* says, *Areus*.

threw himself from the top of the House, and ended his Days.

But to return : After *Dion* was come to *Corinth*, and *Heraclides*, General of the Horse, \* driven away by the same *Dionysius*, fled thither also ; they hasten'd their Preparations for War with all Diligence, yet made but small Progress ; for few adventur'd to run the same risk they did, because a Tyranny of so many Years Continuance was by every one esteem'd very formidable. But *Dion*, who more rely'd on the Ill-will that all People bore the Tyrant, than the Strength of his own Forces, with only two Merchant-Ships, undauntedly went † against a Government which had stood for fifty Years, guarded with five hundred long Ships, ten thousand Horse, and an hundred thousand Foot ; and, to the Astonishment of the World, so easily overran it, that within three Days of his landing in *Sicily* he enter'd *Syracuse* it self. From whence it is evident, *That no Empire is safe which is not guarded by Love*. At that time *Dionysius* was in *Italy*, expecting the Fleet ; and did not imagine that any of his Enemies

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\* Being suspected to be the Cause that the *Veterans* mutiny'd when *Dionysius* was about to lessen their Pay. *Plato*, *Epist.* 7.

† *Syracuse* was taken the 48th Year of the Tyranny, *Plut.* *Olymp.* 106. an. 1. *Diod. Sicul.*

mies durst venture upon him without considerable Forces. In which he was mistaken; for *Dion*, with those very Men which were under his Adversary's Dominion, abated the Tyrant's Arrogance; and made himself Master of all that part of *Sicily* which was in Subjection to *Dionysius*, as he did of *Syracuse* likewise, except the Citadel, and the Island adjoining to the Town. Whereupon the Matter was brought to that pass, that the Tyrant was contented to make Peace on the following Articles: *That Dion should have Sicily, Dionysius possess Italy, and Syracuse be in the Hands of Apollocrates, a Man in whom Dionysius repos'd the greatest Trust.* But this unexpected Prosperity was attended with a sudden Change; Fortune by her Fickleness attempting to ruin him, whom just before she had exalted. The first Token of her Malice she shew'd in his Son, whom I mention'd before; for having brought back his Wife, who was given to another, and being desirous to rescue his Son from the Debauchery in which he had been bred, and reduce him to his former Sobriety, he receiv'd a grievous Blow by the Death of his Child. The next Misfortune was the Dissention between him and *Heraclides*; who made a Faction, rather than he would yield the Priority to *Dion*, and had as much Interest among the Nobility as he; for by their Consent he

commanded the naval Forces, at the same time when the other did those at Land. This *Dion* could not brook; and repeated those Verses in the second Iliad of *Horner*, to this purpose, *That a State cannot be well order'd where the Government is in the Hands of many.* The Saying rais'd him much Envy; for by it he seem'd to discover an Intention of getting all into his own Power; which Opinion he endeavour'd not to lessen by Complaisance, but suppress by Rigor; and caus'd *Heracledes*, when he came to *Syracuse*, to be kill'd: An Action which struck every body with Fear; no Man thinking himself safe, now *Heracledes* was thus taken out of the way. But *Dion*, being rid of his Adversary, with more Licence distributed the Estates of the contrary Party among his Soldiers. After which Division, by reason of the Greatness of his daily Expences, he quickly began to want Money, which he knew no way to be supply'd with, but by seizing his Friends Possessions; upon which it happen'd, that the gaining the Soldiery prov'd the loss of the Nobility. These things he took very much to Heart; and being unaccustom'd to be ill spoken of, could not endure to be in Disrepute with those who a little before had prais'd him to the Skies. For the Rabble perceiving the Soldiers were offended with him, spoke more openly, and often reproach'd him

him with intolerable Tyranny. As *Dion* was in this Perplexity, not being able to appease their Commotions, and was afraid of the Consequence; \* *Callicrates*, an *Athenian*, one that accompanied him from *Peloponnesus* to *Sicily*, a cunning fraudulent Fellow, without any Sense of Religion or Honesty, came to him, and told him the Danger he was in, by reason of the Disgust of the People, and Hatred of the Soldiers; which, without employing one of his Friends to feign himself his Enemy, 'twas impossible to avoid; but if he found one fit for this Affair, he might easily know their Designs, and ruin his Adversaries, who would certainly declare their Intentions to one that seem'd at Variance with him. The Advice being approv'd, *Callicrates* took upon himself to put it in execution; and being advantag'd by *Dion's* Unwariness, sought for Associates to kill him, had Meetings with his Enemies, and confirm'd the Conspiracy. But many being privy to the Business, it was divulg'd, and brought to *Aristomache*, *Dion's* Sister, and *Areta* his Wife; who in a Fright ran with the News to him, for whose Safety they were so much concern'd. He assured them, that *Callicrates* meant him no Harm; and what he did, was

F 5. by

by his Order. However, the Women not satisfied with this, got *Callicrates* to *Proserpine's* Temple; and forc'd him to swear, that *Dion* should receive no Mischief from him: Which religious Act was so far from making him quit his Design, that 'twas a means to hasten the Execution; he fearing the Plot might be discover'd before it had taken effect. Being thus resolv'd, the next † Festival-Day, when *Dion* was laid down privately at Home in an upper Chamber, he put the strongest Places of the City into the Hands of the Conspirators; and having surrounded the House with Soldiers, commanded some of them not to stir from the Doors. And that he might not be destitute of means to escape, if Fortune should prove cross to his Designs, he furnished a Galley with Men and Arms; and order'd his Brother *Philocrates*, who commanded it, to keep it moving in the Port, as if he only intended the Exercise of the Rowers. Besides, he

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\* *Plutarch* tells us the manner of his taking this Oath: After some holy Rites, he had the Goddess's purple Robe thrown over him, with a burning Torch put in his Hand, and so forswore what he was accused of. It was call'd ὄρκος μέγας, or the great Oath: of which there were several sorts.

† *Κρηαίσις ἑορτή*, sacred to *Proserpine*, for on that Day they shaved their Childrens Heads (and sacrificed to her); one of the Ceremonies us'd at the Enrollment of their Children in their Tribes, which was done at this time. *Suid.* and *Plut.*

he chose some *Zacynthians* of his own Family, strong daring Fellows, and bid them go to *Dion* unarm'd, that so it might seem they came only to pay him a Visit. Their Familiarity in the Family immediately gain'd them Admittance into his Chamber; where, as soon as they were enter'd, they fastened the Doors, fell upon him in his Bed, and bound him; which was not done so silently, but the Noise was heard without. Hence it is evident, as I have often said before, how odious a thing the Government of a single Person is; and how miserable a Life they lead who had rather be the Object of their Subject's Fear than Love. For his very Guards, had they bore him any Kindness, might have broke open the Doors, and sav'd his Life; the Conspirators being forc'd for want of Arms to keep him alive 'till they could procure a Weapon of those who were out of the Chamber. But nobody coming to his Rescue, one *Lyco*, a *Syracusan*, reach'd them a Sword thro' the Window, with which they dispatch'd him. The Multitude after his Death came to look upon him, and not knowing the Murderers, kill'd several whom they suspected of the Fact. For it being nois'd that *Dion* was slain, many who dislik'd the Action ran thither, and upon a false Surmise kill'd the Innocent instead of the Guilty. As soon as his Death was publicly known, 'twas

strange to see how the Peoples Minds were chang'd; for they who in his Life-time afforded him no better Name than a Tyrant, now call'd him the Expeller of the Tyrant, and Deliverer of his Country; and so suddenly was Hatred succeeded by Compassion, that if it had been possible, they would have redeem'd his Life at the Expence of their own. Wherefore by publick Order he was buried in the most honourable Place of the City, and by the same had a Tomb erected. He died in the five and fiftieth Year of his Age, and the fourth after his Return from *Peloponnesus* into *Sicily*.





THE  
L I F E  
O F  
*IPHICRATES.*

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Done into *English* by Mr. Allam, M. A. of  
St. Edmund-Hall, Oxon.

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*IPHICRATES*, the *Athenian*, became famous to Posterity, rather by his accurate Skill in the Art of War, than the Gallantry of any noble Atchievements: For he was so perfectly furnish'd with all the necessary Accomplishments requisite to compleat a General, that he not only attain'd the Excellencies of his most eminent Contemporaries, but might justly dispute Pre-eminence with the chief of former Ages. He was so very well experienc'd in martial Affairs, that being often intrusted with the Command of entire Armies, he never was defeated by any Failure or Default of his own; and what  
Victory

Victory soever he obtain'd, it appear'd principally to be owing to his Prudence and Conduct. So great was his Judgment in all things relating to War, that he both advanc'd military Discipline by additional Rules to a far greater Perfection than it ever had before his time, and improv'd those few scatter'd ones he met with to the best Advantage. He also made most commodious and beneficial Alterations in the Arms of the Infantry; for whereas before his time broad unwieldy Shields, short Spears, and little Swords were only in use, he chang'd the first of them into a lighter Target, made somewhat in Shape of an Half-Moon, call'd *Pelta*, from whence the Foot afterwards receiv'd the Name *Pelasta*; and by this more portable Backler, he did not only expedite their Marches, but made them capable of receiving their Enemies Onsets with greater Readiness and Activity. As for the Sword, he augmented its Length, but doubled that of the Spear; changing moreover their Breast Armour from Iron and Brass to those made of Linnen; which render'd his Soldiers fitter for Action; and by thus lessening their Weight he at once provided for their Ease and Security too. He was engag'd in a War with the *Thracians*, and restored *Seuthes*, an Ally of the *Athenians*, to his Kingdom. At *Corinth* he kept the Army to so strict Discipline, that there

there were in no Part of *Greece* to be found better train'd Forces; or any who with so great Readiness receiv'd and perform'd the Commands of a General, even in the most minute Particulars; for by his Pains and Industry they grew so expert in all Military Orders and Postures, that as soon as ever he had but once given the Word of Command, they would immediately form themselves into as regular a Figure, as if the most skilful Commander had rank'd each private Soldier in his particular Place. With this Army he intercepted a select Party of the *Lacedæmonian* Horse; which Action was very much extoll'd throughout all *Greece*. In the same War he gave their whole Strength a second total Defeat; which also procur'd him a large stock of Honour. *Artaxerxes* purposing to fight the King of *Egypt*, made it his Request to the *Athenians*, that they would grant him *Iphicrates*, whom he design'd as Commander in Chief over his mercenary Forces, the same amounting to the number of twelve thousand Men; and having obtain'd his Desire, he instructed them so fully and exactly in the whole Art of War, that as formerly the best *Roman* Soldiers were distinguish'd from the meaner sort by bearing the name of their Leader *Fabius*, so the *Grecians* had those under the Command of *Iphicrates* in the highest Esteem.

When

When he went to assist the *Lacedaemonians*, he soon put a stop to the Attempts of *Eparminondas*; for had he not hasten'd his March, the *Thebans* would not have rais'd the Siege of *Sparta*, till they had laid it waste in Ashes, and utter Ruin. The Greatness of his Spirit bore an equal Proportion with that of his Body: His Presence being very majestick and commanding, did so clearly bespeak him what he really was, that his bare Look of it self was sufficient to strike all Beholders with an Admiration of his Person. *Theopompus* has recorded, that he was remiss in Matters which requir'd continu'd Labour, and that he could not well brook the Hardships of War; yet he had still the Character of a good Citizen given him, and was always reputed a Man of a steady and untainted Fidelity; of which as on several other Occasions he gave most undeniable Proofs, so he did in a more peculiar manner signalize it by protecting the distress'd Orphans of *Amyntas* the *Macedonian*. For *Euridice*, the Mother of *Perdiccas* and *Philip*, upon her Husband's Death presently fled with her two Fatherless Children to *Iphecrates* for Succour and Patronage; who being rich, generously asserted their just Rights against all kinds of Wrong and Oppression. He died old, in the Love and Favour of his Fellow-Citizens; tho' their Affections had been for some time alie-

alienated from him; for he and *Timotheus* were forc'd to make their publick Defences in the Associated War, and he was acquitted by those who were constituted his Judges. He left behind him a Son call'd *Menestheus*, whom he had by a *Thracian* Woman, Daughter to King *Cotus*; who being ask'd, *which he lov'd best, his Father or Mother*; reply'd, *his Mother*. And when all the Company wondered at the seeming Strangeness of the Answer, he told them, *That he did not return that Answer, but upon very good Reasons; for my Father, saith he, by marrying a Barbarian us'd his utmost Endeavours that I should be one also; but my Mother did as much as in her lay to make me the Son of an Athenian.*





THE  
L I F E  
O F  
CHABRIAS.

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Done into *English* by Mr. Kennett, of St.  
Edmund-Hall, Oxon.

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CHABRIAS was an *Athenian*; one that bore a Name in the Catalogue of their greatest Commanders, and perform'd several Exploits that very well deserve the Recording. Among which, there ought more especially to be remark'd that Stratagem which he made use of at *Thebes*, when he came to assist the *Berrians*: For in that Engagement *Agésilas*, the *Lacedæmonian* General, being very confident of obtaining the Victory, and having made so great a step toward it, as the putting to flight all the mercenary Forces of the adverse Party;  
*Chabrias*

*Chabrias* procur'd the other Troops to keep their Station, while by his own Example of kneeling down upon his Buckler, and holding out his Spear or Pike assaunt, he taught them in that manner to expect the Onset of the Enemy. *Agésilas* being surpriz'd at so unwonted a Sight, durst make no farther Attempt upon them; but immediately founded a Retreat, and thereby summon'd his Soldiers to fall back, when they were just ready to have made the Assault. This Contrivance was so much applauded throughout all *Greece*, that *Chabrias* order'd himself to be drawn in that defensive Posture in the Statue which was erected for him in the Forum of *Athens*, at the publick Charge of that City. And from hence it commenced a Custom, that ever after all Gladiators, and other Fencers, were wont to have their Statues carv'd to the same Posture wherein they had got their respective Victories. But to return: *Chabrias* waged several Wars in *Europe*, while he was commission'd a General of the *Athenians*; and behav'd himself bravely in *Egypt*, when he serv'd as a private Volunteer. Going to the Help of *Nectanebus*, he got him settled in his Kingdom. He came off with as good Success at *Cyprus*; tho' there indeed he was publickly appointed by the *Athenians* as a Collegue with *Evagoras*; nor did he dispatch from hence, till he had subdued the whole Island; and

and from the happy Management of this Enterprize, the *Athenians* purchas'd themselves a vast Credit. In the mean while arose a War between the *Persians* and *Egyptians*, the *Athenians* enter'd into a League with *Artaxerxes* King of *Persia*, and the *Lacedæmonians* sided with the *Egyptians*, of whom *Agefilas*, King of *Lacedæmon*, made a very considerable Advantage. *Chabrias* taking notice of this, and thinking himself no way inferiour to *Agefilas*, frankly offer'd his Service to the Assistance of the *Egyptians*, and was made Admiral of their Fleet, *Agefilas* being Commander of their Infantry. Upon this, the Captains who were employ'd by the King of *Persia*, dispatch'd Messengers to *Athens*, to complain that *Chabrias* took part with the *Egyptians* in a War against their Master. The *Athenians* hereupon fix'd a Day, by which time if *Chabrias* return'd not, they threatned he should forfeit his Life, for disobeying the Summons. *Chabrias* at this News comes back to *Athens*; yet staid there no longer than was necessary to avoid the Penalty which was otherwise denounc'd against him. For he was not fond of residing among his own Country-men; having liv'd so splendidly, and far'd so high, that he could not but raise the Envy of the Rabble. For this indeed is a common Fault in great and free Cities, that Envy is always fasten'd

fasten'd upon Glory; and most Persons are extream forward in detracting from those who are promoted to be their Superiors: And what is ordinary to observe, the Poor cannot, without Regret at their own harder Fate, cast an Eye upon the more ample Fortunes of the Rich. *Chabrias* upon these Considerations was as much abroad as his Affairs could dispense with. And herein he was not singular, in his Caution of staying little at home in *Athens*; for almost all their eminent Men took the same Course; thinking themselves so far remov'd from Envy, as they were distant from their own native Country. *Conon* for this Reason liv'd the most part in *Cyprus*, *Iphicrates* in *Thrace*, *Timotheus* in *Lesbus*, and *Chares* in *Sigæum*. This *Chares*, it is true, was different from the rest both in Temper and Action; yet he was a Person of great Honour and Wealth at *Athens*. But finally, *Chabrias* came thus to his End in the Social War: The *Athenians* laid Siege to *Chium*; *Chabrias* was in the Navy only as a Reformed, yet he had greater Authority than any who were in Places of Command; the common Soldiers paying more Respect to him than to any of their Officers, which prov'd the Occasion of hastning his Death: For whilst he was ambitious of making the first Entrance into the Harbour, and accordingly had directed the Pilot to steer in, this Adventure  
cost

cost him his Life ; for when he was got in, none of the other Vessels would follow : Whereupon, being surrounded with the Attacks of the Enemy, he fought courageously, till the Ship sprung a Leak, by some Damage toward the Head, and began to sink under him. Hereupon, being unable to make any Escape ; for if he had thrown himself overboard, the *Athenians* would have took him up as he swam ; he therefore chose rather to die in his Station, than to lay down his Arms and quit the Ship. None of the other Seamen would run the same Hazard, but leap'd out, and escap'd safe to Shore ; while *Chabrias*, preferring an honourable Death before an ignoble and slavish Life, fighting hand to hand upon the Deck, was at last killed on the Place.





THE  
L I F E  
O F  
TIMOTHEUS.

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Done into *English* by the Honourable  
Mr. Booth, of Ch. Ch. Coll. Oxon.

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**T**IMOTHEUS, the Son of Co-  
non, an *Athenian*, increas'd his  
Hereditary Honour by his own  
acquir'd Virtues; for he was  
Eloquent, Stout, and Industri-  
ous; and no less famous for the Management  
of Civil than Military Affairs. He per-  
form'd many eminent Exploits; but these  
following seem the most notable: He con-  
quer'd the *Olymthians* and *Byzantins*, and took  
*Samos*; in which Enterprize (the Year be-  
fore) the *Athenians* had spent two hundred  
thousand Talents; yet *Timothens* gain'd this  
Island

Island without putting the Publick to any Expence. He manag'd the War against *Cotys*, and took a Booty from him, for the Commonwealth, worth two hundred thousand Talents. He also rais'd the Siege of *Cyzicus*, and accompanied *Agefilans* when he went to assist *Ariobarzanes*; of whom when *Agefilans* receiv'd present Pay, *Timotheus* chose rather to increase the Possessions of his Fellow-Citizens, than accept of that his own private Family could only partake of; therefore he took *Erichthon* and *Sestus*.

*Timotheus* being made Admiral of the Navy, sailing along by *Peloponnesus*, he walled the Country of *Laconia*, and beat their Fleet. He reduc'd *Corcyra* under the Government of the *Athenians*, with their Confederates of *Epirus*, *Acarnania*, and *Chaonia*, and all the Countries that border'd upon that Sea: By which Action of his, the *Lacedamonians* were forc'd to let fall their old Quarrel, and voluntarily to offer the *Athenians* the Dominion of the Seas. A Peace being concluded between these two Commonwealths, one Article was, *That the Athenians should be Lords at Sea*. So great Joy was there at *Athens* upon the News of this Victory, that then it was that publick Altars were first erected to the Goddesses of Peace, and a Pallet appointed her. The Memory of which noble Act that they might perpetuate, they erected a

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Statue

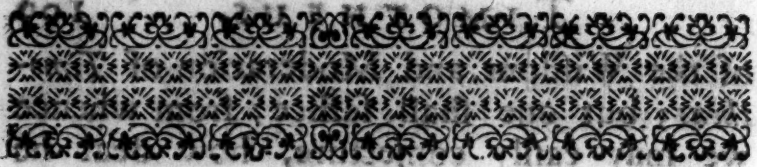
Statue for him in the *Forum*; which Honour was never paid to any Man before him, viz. That the same People who had set up a Statue for the Father, should give the Son one too; the last serving to revive the Memory of the former.

When *Timothens* was very ancient, and had quite left off all publick Business, War began to threaten the *Athenians* on every side. *Samos* and *Hellepont* revolted; and *Philip* of *Macedon*, being very powerful, made great Preparations for a War. Against whom when they had sent *Chares*, they thought him not strong enough to oppose him; and thereupon make *Menestheus* (the Son of *Iphicrates*, and Son-in-law to *Timothens*) their General, and order him to go to the War. They also send along with him his Father and Father-in-law to be his Councillors; Men excelling in Experience and Wisdom, whose Advice he should always follow; because they were Persons of such Authority, that there was great Hopes by their means they might recover all they had lost. When these two were gone to *Samos*, and *Chares* had Intelligence of it, he drew all his Forces thither, lest there should be any Action in his Absence. It so happened, that when they came near the Island, there arose a great Storm; for the avoiding of which, the two old Generals thought it very expedient to cast Anchor.

chor. But *Chares*, without any Consideration, not obeying the Commands of his Councillors, but as if he had Fortune in the Ship with him, draws near to engage; and sends a Messenger to *Timotheus* and *Iphicrates*, commanding them to follow him. This Attempt having succeeded ill, and losing a considerable Number of Ships, he retires back again from whence he came, and dispatches an Express to *Athens*, to let them know, that he could easily have taken *Samos*, had he not been deserted by *Timotheus* and *Iphicrates*. Upon this Accusation of his they were impeached. The Commons, who were fierce, jealous, factious, changeable, and Enemies also to all in Power, call them Home, and accuse them of betraying their Country. In this Tryal *Timotheus* is cast, and fined an hundred Talents; and so being compell'd, thro' the Illwill of an ungrateful City, he retires to *Calcis*. After his Death, the People repenting of the Sentence they had pass'd upon him, remitted all but a tenth part of his Fine, and obliged his Son *Conon* to repair part of a Wall. In which Action may be seen the various Turns of Fortune; for those very Walls which the Grandfather *Conon* had rebuilt with the Spoils of the Enemy, is the Nephew forc'd to repair out of his own Estate, to the great Scandal of his Family. We might produce many Instances  
of

of the Wisdom and Moderation of *Timothens*; but one shall suffice; from whence we may easily conjecture, how dear he was to his Friends. When he was but a young Man, he was forc'd at *Athens* to plead for himself; and not only his Friends and private Acquaintance came to his Assistance, but also *Jason* the Tyrant, who at that time was a Man of very considerable Power. This Man, tho' in his own Kingdom, never thought himself safe without his Guards about him; yet came alone to *Athens*, valuing his Friend at so dear a rate, that he rather chose to endanger his own Life, than not to assist *Timothens* in vindicating his Honour. But notwithstanding all this, *Timothens* soon after, by the Command of the People, fought against him; accounting the Obligations to his Country greater than those of Friendship. This was the last Age of the *Athenian* Commanders; for after *Iphicrates*, *Chabrias*, and *Timothens*, there was no Commander of any Note in that City.





THE  
LIFE  
OF  
DATAMES.

Done into English by Mr. Edwards, M. A.  
and Fellow of St. John's Coll. Oxon.



**D**ATAMES a Carian, the Son of Camissares by a Scythian Lady, was the most considerable for Valour and prudent Conduct of any of those of the Barbarous Nations, except the two famous Carthaginians, Hamilcar and Hannibal. What he did was great, and out of the usual road; yet so little known, that we are obliged to be the larger in our Account of him: For he never ow'd his Success to the Greatness of his Army, or to any of the common Causes of it; but always to that which seem'd his peculiar Talent, a most extraordinary Policy. His first Employment was in the Guards at Artaxerxes's

*Artaxerxes's* Court; but his Father, as the Reward of his eminent Courage and constant Fidelity to the King, had the Government of that part of *Cilicia* which lies upon *Cappadocia*, and is inhabited by the *Leucosyrians*. *Datames* having a Command in the Army, first signaliz'd himself in the War against the *Cadyfians*; in which there were many Thousands kill'd, and chiefly by his means; for which Service, *Camissares* likewise falling in the Battel, he succeeded him in the Province.

*Autophradates* being sent by the King to reduce some to their Obedience who had revolted, he behaved himself with equal Gallantry; for by his Management a small Party surpriz'd the Enemy in their Camp, and destroy'd them; the greatest part of the Army doing no Service at all in the Action. After this, he was remov'd to higher Employments; for *Thyns*, the Prince of *Paphlagonia*, (descended from that *Pylæmenes* which *Homer* says was slain by *Patroclus* in the *Trojan War*) not sufficiently complying with the King, *Datames* (who was his Cousin-German) was sent with an Army to force his Submission to the King's Pleasure. But he intending to use his utmost Endeavours to make his Relation sensible of his Duty upon easy Terms, and not suspecting any Treachery from a Friend, went to him without any Attendants;

altho' his Confidence put him in extream Danger; for *Thyus* had resolv'd upon a private Assassination. *Datames* having Intelligence of the Design from his Mother, who was *Thyus's* Aunt, and understood his Intentions, made his Escape, and immediately proclaim'd the War; which he vigorously continued, tho' he was deserted by *Ariobarzanes* the Governor of *Lydia*, *Ionia*, and all *Phrygia*; and made not only *Thyus*, but his Wife and Children too, his Captives.

He made all the haste imaginable, that the News of this Exploit might not get to the King before him, and got privately to Court without any one's Knowledge. The next Day he shew'd his Captive, who was a vast black hairy Man, with a frightful and ghastly Countenance, dress'd very richly in the Habit of a *Persian* Nobleman, with a golden Collar, and all other Princely Ornaments. He himself appear'd meanly, like a Peasant, in a Hunter's Head-piece, made of the Skins of several Beasts, with a Club in one Hand, and Toyts in the other; and brought him out in such a manner, as if he had been some cruel Monster, just subdued. So unusual a Sight drew a great many Spectators: One being accidentally there that knew *Thyus*, inform'd the King of it. But he at first suspecting so strange a Story, commanded *Pharnabazus* to go and bring him a  
certain

certain Relation of the Thing; from whom when he had receiv'd full Satisfaction, he commanded him to be brought into his Presence, and was infinitely pleas'd with the Humour; but especially, that so great a Prince should so unexpectedly come into his Hands. After he had for this nobly rewarded *Datames*, he sent him to the Army which was then rais'd against *Egypt*, under *Pharnabazus* and *Tithraustes*, and gave him a Command equal to theirs; and after *Pharnabazus* was recall'd, he was made Generalissimo. But whilst he was hastning the general Rendezvous of the Army, and preparing for his March to *Egypt*, he receiv'd an Express from the King, that he should go against *Aspis*, the Governor of *Cataonia*; a Country which lies above *Cilicia*, and borders upon *Cappadocia*. For *Aspis*, depending upon his Woods and strong Frontier Towns, not only disobey'd some of the King's Commands, but robb'd his Carriages, and made Incurfions on all about him. Tho' *Datames* was at a great distance from *Cataonia*, and then in the Management of greater Affairs, yet he yielded to the Kings's Pleasure; and, in order to the Execution of it, set sail only with a few, but very stout Men; supposing, (as indeed it afterwards happen'd) that he could have more Advantage over him with a small Company upon Surprize, than with a great Army

after open Defiance. Being arriv'd at *Cilicia*, he continu'd his Marches 'till he had pass'd over Mount *Taurus*, and was come to the end of his Journey. Enquiring for *Aspis*, he understood that he was hunting near that Place. The Occasion of *Datames's* coming was presently suspected; and therefore *Aspis* immediately put the *Pisida*, and others he had with him, in a Posture of Defence. Upon notice of which, *Datames* muster'd up his Men, and commanded them to follow him; and being mounted on an excellent Horse, rode briskly up to the Enemy. But *Aspis* perceiving the Vigour of the first Onset, the least Endeavours of Resistance were discourag'd; he immediately surrender'd himself, and was sent in Chains to the King by *Mithridates*.

*Artaxerxes*, whilst these things were in agitation, recollecting that he had call'd one of his best Commanders from a considerable Post, and sent him upon a trivial Employment; but thinking that perhaps he was not yet gone, dispatch'd a Messenger to *Ace*, with Orders that he should by no means leave the Army. But the Command was superseded; for those that guarded *Aspis* were met upon the Way. *Datames* having accomplish'd his Business with such unexpected Expedition, was greater in the King's Favour than ever; and became so considerable, that he was the Envy of the whole

whole Court. For they perceiv'd, that his single Interest was greater than theirs in Conjunction; and therefore all jointly conspir'd his Ruin. *Pandates* the Treasurer, who was his Confident, made him acquainted with all their Designs, and told him by Letter what Danger he was in, if any Mis-carriage should happen during his Conduct in *Egypt*: That Kings took the Honour of great Actions to themselves, but always imputed ill Success to their Ministers; and therefore were easily inclin'd to disgrace those whom they thought the Occasion of it: That his Condition was worse than any other's, because it was the Temper of the King, to hate those most who had before been his chief Favourites. Having receiv'd this News upon his coming back to the Army at *Ace*, and knowing the Advice was not to be contemn'd, he resolv'd to leave the King's Service, but did nothing that was inconsistent with his Trust; for he left the Army under *Mandrocles* a *Magnesian*, went with a Detachment of his own Men into *Cappadocia*, and seiz'd *Paphlagonia*, which lay next to it, without discovering his Disaffection to the King. After which he held a secret Correspondence with *Arriobarzanes*, got some Men together, and plac'd them in the fortified Towns for the Defence of the Garrisons. But it being Winter, the

Season of the Year hinder'd some of his Designs.

Hearing the *Pisida* were preparing some Forces against him, he sent his Son *Arisidenus* thither with an Army. The young General was kill'd in the Engagement. But his Father, concealing the Loss he had receiv'd, went with some more Men into the Field, being willing to get to the Enemy before his Soldiers had the Report of the Defeat; for he thought the News of his Son's Death would very much discourage them. Being arriv'd at the Place he design'd, he so encamp'd, that he could neither be oppress'd with the numerous Forces of the Enemy, nor yet hinder'd from making any advantageous Assault. His Father-in-law, *Mithrobarzanes*, Captain of the Horse, was then with him; but thinking their Condition very desperate, went over to the Enemy. Of which *Datames* having notice, he presently consider'd, that the Noise of his being deserted by so considerable a Man might make the rest revolt; and therefore gave out, that *Mithrobarzanes* was by his Orders gone away like a Renegade, that he might be admitted by the Enemy, and so destroy them with less difficulty: That therefore they ought not to deliver him into their Hands, but immediately to follow him; which if they did with Resolution, the *Pisida* could make no Resistance, for they

they would be slain both in their Camp and in the Field. The Design being approv'd of, he led out his Army, and pursu'd *Mithrobarzanes*; upon whose Approach to the Enemy, *Datames* commanded his Standard to be set up. The *Pisida* being in great Confusion at the Suddenness of the Business, suspected the Renegades, and imagin'd they came with a treacherous Design of doing the greater Mischief: Therefore they first fell upon them; which surprizing Accident put them in such disorder, that they were forced to fight with those to whom they had fled, and assist those whom they had deserted; but being spar'd by neither, were all presently cut off. *Datames* afterwards falling upon the *Pisida*, forc'd them to fly, kill'd many in the Pursuit, and took Possession of their Camp. By this Stratagem he at once punish'd the Deserters, and gain'd a Victory over his Enemies; and made that, which was intended for his Ruin, the means of his Success. And perhaps it was a Design so cunningly laid, and in so little time effected, that History can shew nothing parallel to it.

Notwithstanding these great Exploits, *Scismas* his eldest Son left him, and gave the King an Account of his Defection. *Artaxerxes* being troubled at the News, (for he knew he was to deal with a Man of undaunted Courage; one who never design'd

any thing but what he dared venture to effect, and never attempted any thing but what he had sufficiently consider'd) sent *Autophradates* into *Cappadocia*. *Datames* endeavour'd to possess himself of the Forest, which is the Passage to *Cilicia*; but not being able so suddenly to get his Men together, he was oblig'd to take other Measures; yet he chose so commodious a Place for his Camp, that the Enemy could neither inclose him, nor pass by him without being attack'd in several Places; and was posted so advantageously, that in any Encounter their Multitudes could do very little Damage to his small Company.

Altho' *Autophradates* was sensible of all this, yet he was resolv'd rather to engage him, than either to continue long in that Place, or go back with a great Army; for he had in the Field twenty thousand Horse, an hundred thousand Foot, and three thousand Slingers; which were the *Cardaces*, a People of the *Lesser Asia*; besides these, eight thousand out of *Cappadocia*, ten out of *Armenia*, five from *Paphlagonia*, ten from *Phrygia*, five from *Lydia*, about three thousand of the *Aspendii* and *Pisidæ*, two from *Cilicia*, as many of the *Caspians*, and three thousand Mercenaries, which he had out of *Greece*; besides a considerable Number of Light-Horse. All *Datames's* Hopes of doing any thing against such  
mighty

mighty Forces were in himself, and the Convenience of the Place wherein he was encamp'd; for he had not the twentieth part of the Men which were brought by *Autophradates*. Nevertheless, with these he ventur'd to give him Battel; and in it, but with the loss of about a thousand Men, cut off several thousands of his. In Memory of which he erected a Trophy the next Day in the Place where they fought. After he had remov'd his Camp from thence, tho' his Army was ever the least, yet he was still greatest when the Fight was done; for he understood the Country, and always contriv'd that the Enemy should be confin'd to such narrow Places, where he had no room to manage any considerable number of Men. *Autophradates* finding the War prov'd more unsuccessful to his Master than to *Datames*, solicited him to a Peace, and promis'd to restore him to the King's Favour. He accepted the Conditions, tho' he did not think them real; and said he intended to send his Ambassadors to *Artaxerxes*, in order to an Accommodation. And the War being thus ended, *Autophradates* went into *Phrygia*.

But the King hated *Datames* so implacably, that when he saw his Destruction could not be accomplish'd by any open Force, he endeavour'd by some secret Methods to take him off. But he defeated several

veral of their Designs; of which the most remarkable was this: He had Intelligence that some about him, and such as were reputed his Friends, had contriv'd his Death. This he thought, because it came from his Enemies, was neither to be over-much credited, nor perfectly slighted; but being willing to see the Reality of the thing, he went to the very Place where he was told they intended the Assassination: To one that exactly resembled him for Shape and Stature he likewise gave his Habit, and commanded him during the Journey to represent him, by riding in his place. He himself was accouter'd like a common Soldier, and rid amongst his Guards; and charg'd all the Company to observe his Motions, and second them. When the Conspirators saw the Company, they were deceiv'd by the Place and Dress, and assaulted the Counterfeit; which when *Datames* perceiv'd, he presently threw out his Darts; and the rest (according to the Sign) doing so too, they were all kill'd upon the spot.

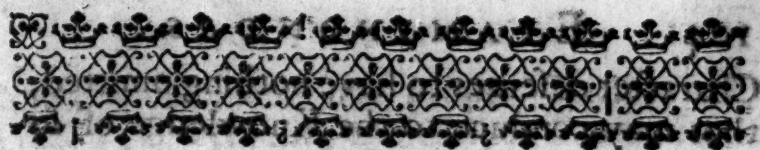
Yet at last this sagacious Man was over-reach'd by a Project of *Mithridates*, the Son of *Ariobarzanes*; who assur'd the King of his Death, upon Condition he might act as he pleas'd with Impunity. The Liberty being granted, and the Promise (according to the Custom of the *Persians*) confirm'd by the Hand, he pretended an  
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open Defiance of the King, rais'd Forces, besieg'd his Towns, and vex'd his Provinces; by Agents desir'd a Correspondence with *Datames*, and, after a Distribution among his Soldiers, complemented him with a Present of rich Spoils. By these Actions he perswaded *Datames*, that he had engaged himself in an everlasting Quarrel with the King; but however, to prevent the least Suspicion of his Designs, he neither desir'd a Conference with him, or an Interview; but manag'd his false Friendship so well at distance, that nothing should seem to be the Foundation of it but their common Hatred of the King.

When he thought he had sufficiently settled him in this Opinion, he sent him Word that it was necessary they should prepare greater Forces, and engage themselves in an actual War with the King himself; and if he approv'd the Proposal, that he would meet him at any Place he should chuse, to consult farther about it. The Time and Place being appointed, *Mithridates* going thither some Days before, with one that was his Confident, hid several Swords, and nicely observ'd how they lay. When the Day came which they had fix'd upon, they both sent some Servants to view the Place, and then met according to the Agreement. After they had spent some time in the Debate, and were parted, *Mithridates* (that  
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he might not be at all suspected) before he was got to his Company, return'd to the same Place, and sat down where he had buried one of the Daggers, as if he had design'd only to rest himself. But having taken up the Weapon, and conceal'd it under his Cloaths, he sent for *Datames*, under pretence that he had forgotten some important Matter; and told him, that as he pass'd along he had spy'd a very convenient Place for their Camp. *Datames* turning and looking with some Earnestness upon the Place which he shew'd him, was immediately stabb'd in the Back, and dy'd before any could come up to his Assistance. Thus he that had over-reach'd many by generous Stratagems, but none by any base Treachery, was at last deceiv'd and ruin'd by the plausible Pretences of Friendship.





# THE L I F E O F EPAMINONDAS.

Done into *English* by Mr. Lane, Fellow of  
Merton College, Oxon.



**EPAMINONDAS**, the Son of Polymnius, was a *Theban*. But before we begin our Account of him, it seems necessary to desire the Readers, that they would not make an Estimate of other Peoples Manners by their own; nor suppose, that Things of small Value with them, bear the same Rate amongst all the rest of Mankind. Musick (we know) according to our Sentiments, is below the Dignity of a Prince; to Dance, the mean Employ of Slaves; yet amongst the *Grecians* these are genteel Accomplishments, of great Repute. *Epaminondas's*  
Character

Character deserves to have nothing omitted, that may conduce to the Knowledge of so great a Man: Wherefore we shall in the first place discourse of his *Parentage*, in the next of his *Education*, then of his *Manners* and *Disposition*, (and if there be any thing else on those Heads worth relating; ) and in the last place, concerning his *Actions*. These are great Concerns of Life, and are by most preferr'd before all the solitary Habits of a lazy Virtue. His Father's Name you have heard before. His Family was genteel, yet such as might receive, not give a Lustre. Poverty seem'd entail'd upon him from his Ancestors; yet never was *Theban* more genteelly educated. He learnt to play on the Lute, and to Sing, from *Dionysius*; whose Fame in Musick was not less than the celebrated Names of *Damon* or *Lamprus*. *Olympiodorus* taught him the Flute, and *Callipbron* to Dance. His Tutor in Philosophy was *Lyfis* the *Tarentinian*, of the *Pythagorean* Sect. He was so great an Admirer of this old Man, that his reserv'd severe Conversation pleas'd him better than the gay Company of his Equals; neither would he leave him till he had so far out-gone his Fellow-Pupils, that it was apparent his Excellence in other Arts would be proportionate to his happy Success in these. If you give a Judgment according to our Customs, these things may seem mean and contemptible,

contemptible, and not proper Themes of Praise; yet were they anciently in Greece of as great Concern as good Breeding could make them. After he was fifteen years old, he betook himself to the Academy, for the Exercises of the Body; where he did not so much aim at Greatness of Strength, as Nimbleness in Motion. The first he knew might gain Applause in a Ring, the other was of the greatest Use in War: Therefore he designed to himself such a Perfection in Running and Wrestling, as he might be able, while he was standing on his Feet, to grapple and close with his Enemy; *but neglected the other Tricks of these Exercises, which were perform'd by the Parties tugging and tumbling one another on the Ground.* These were his Recreations; Arms were his serious Business. This Strength of Body thus gain'd, was attended with a more numerous Train of the Goods of the Mind. He was modest, prudent, grave in his Behaviour, of great Address, and none more wise in managing each juncture of time to the greatest Advantage. He was well skill'd in the Art of War, valiant in the Duties of it, and of an undaunted Courage; so severe a Lover of Truth, that he would not lye in Jest; chaste, compassionate, and patient in an eminent degree; easily forgiving, not only the Injuries of the Multitude, but of his Friends; above all things, careful to conceal Secrets committed

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ted to him: *which sort of Silence is sometimes of as great Advantage as the clearest Eloquence.* He thought the readiest way to learn was to hear; therefore when he came to any Place in which Debates were held, either in Politicks or Philosophy, he never departed until the Discourse was at an end. Poverty was so easy a thing to him, that Glory was the only Advantage he made of the Common-wealth. In his Necessities he was perfidiously deserted by his Friends; yet was his Kindness so constant to others in their Wants, that one would guess his Principle was, *that Friends have all things in common.* Thus, when any of his Countrymen were taken Captive, or any of his Acquaintance had a Daughter marriageable, who could not be preferr'd for want of Fortune, he call'd a Consult of Friends, allotted to every one (according to the Proportion of his Estate) what he should give; and when the design'd Sum was made up, he would not himself receive it, but introduced the Person, who was to receive the Benefit, to collect it, that he might know how much he ow'd to every one's Kindness. He gave a brave Experiment of his Integrity in the Repulse of *Diomedon the Cyricenian*, who at the Request of *Artaxerxes* had undertaken to corrupt *Epaminondas*: In pursuit of this Design, he comes to *Thebes* with vast Sums of Gold, and with a Present of five Talents

lents brings over to his Party *Micythus*, a young Man whom *Epaminondas* dearly lov'd. *Micythus* addresses himself to *Epaminondas*, and acquaints him with the Gift he had receiv'd, and the Reason of *Diomedon*'s coming. Whereupon he sent for *Diomedon*, and thus speaks to him: *There is no want of Money; for if the King desires such things as are for the Interest of Thebes, I am ready to comply with him without the Bribe of a Reward; but if they are of another Nature, he has not Silver and Gold enough; for the Love of my Country weighs more with me than all the Riches of the Universe. That you, who did not know me, and thought me like your Self, made this Attempt upon my Virtue, is no Wonder; and I forgive you. But haste you hence: Such Temptations may prevail on others, tho' they can't on me. And you, Micythus, restore him his Money; which if you do not presently do, I will deliver you up into the Hands of Justice. Diomedon, dejected at the resolute Honesty of the Man, now only desires, to return safely Home, and carry his Treasures along with him. You shall* (replies *Epaminondas*,) *not for your sake, but my own; lest if your Money should be taken from you, any one should suspect that I accepted that as a Spoil, which I had before refus'd as a Gift; and did not so much condemn the Bribe, as hate the Obligations of it. Then he ask'd him whither he would be convey'd; and Diomedon answering, to Athens, he gave him*

him a Guard to conduct him thither ; and not content with this, he took care, by his Friend *Chabrias* the *Athenian*, (whom we have mention'd before) that he should securely take Shipping there. I suppose this is a sufficient Testimony of his unshaken Honesty. We might produce a great many more of the like Nature ; but we must deny our selves that Liberty ; because we design in this one Volume to comprehend the Lives of many illustrious Persons ; upon each of whom other Writers before us have bestow'd large Commentaries. He was the most eloquent of the *Thebans* ; nor less acute in extemporary Repartee, than persuasive in continued Discourses. One *Meneclides* was his profess'd Enemy, always opposing him in the Government of the Commonwealth : He was a Man ready and bold in Discourses ; that is, he was a *Theban* ; to which Nation Nature seems to have allotted more of Strength than Wit. When this Man found that *Epaminondas's* Conduct in military Affairs gain'd him Reputation, he began to advise the *Thebans*, to lay aside the Thoughts of War, and enjoy themselves in Peace. This he did, not out of any Love to his Country, but to stifle the Occasions of *Epaminondas's* Glory. To this *Epaminondas* replies : *War indeed is a dismal Word ; and 'tis the Sound alone that you make use of,*

to affright our Citizens from their Interest. 'Tis Ease that you pretend, but Slavery is meant; for the Foundations of Peace are best laid by the Sword; and they that propose to themselves an undisturb'd and flourishing Tranquility, must be well disciplin'd in War. Therefore (O Thebans) would you raise your State above the rest of Greece, this Glory is to be gain'd in Camps, not Schools of Exercise. At another time, when this same Meneclides objected to him, That he was never married, and had no Children; and principally insisted on this as a great height of Insolence, That he durst compare his own Actions with those of Agamemnon's; he answered: Meneclides, do not object the want of a Wife; for I should in that Affair sooner take any Man's Advice than yours, (for Meneclides lay under the Suspicion of a very incontinent Fellow:) But you are mistaken, if you think it my Ambition to reach Agamemnon's Glory; for he, with the Assistance of all Greece, scarcely at last, in ten Years time, took one City; whereas I, on the other side, with the single Forces of one City, and in one Day, routed the Lacedæmonians, and deliver'd all Greece from Slavery. When he went to the Convention of the States of Arcadia, to engage them in a League with the Thebans and Argives, he found there Callistratus the Athenian Ambassador to oppose his Designs, who was esteem'd the best Orator of his Time: He very bitterly inveighed against  
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the *Thebans* and *Argives*, who were then *Confederates*; and amongst the rest of the *Invectives* were these: That the *Arcadians* should consider what kind of Men both Cities had produc'd, and from thence give a Judgment of the rest: *Orestes* and *Alcmaeon* were *Argives*, and these wickedly murder'd their Mother; *Oedipus* was born at *Thebes*, who, when he had kill'd his Father, married his Mother, and had Children by her. When *Epaminondas* had answer'd the rest of his Speech, he came at last to his Railing; and said: He wonder'd at the Folly of the *Athenian Orator*, who did not consider, that these Men were born innocent; but when they had contracted Wickedness enough to be expell'd their own Country, were yet thought good enough to be receiv'd and caress'd at *Athens*. But then did his Eloquence most eminently appear, when, before the Battle of *Leuctra*, all the Ambassadors of the *Confederates* were met at *Sparta*. Here, in this great Assembly, he so clearly set forth the Tyranny of the *Lacedamonians*, that his Discourse did as much shake the Greatness of that State as the Battle at *Leuctra*; for then it was (which appear'd afterwards) that they were deprived of the Assistance of their Allies. That he was a very forgiving Man, and thought it unlawful to be angry at, or revenge, the Injuries of his Country, take the following Instances. When Envy had so far work'd him out of the Affections

fections of his Citizens, that they would not chuse him General, but supply'd that Trust with a very unskilful Commander, whose Imprudence led their Forces into such Streights, that they were inclos'd by their Enemies, and now near Ruin; they began to reflect upon, and wish for, the good Conduct of *Epaminondas*, who was at this time a common Soldier in the Army. To him they apply themselves for Assistance; who taking no notice of their Ingratitude, rais'd the Enemies Leaguer, and secured a safe Retreat to the Army. Such Actions as these he often perform'd; but that which bears a greater Lustre than any of the rest, is his brave Deportment when he led the Army into *Peloponnesus* against the *Lacedaemonians*; in which Expedition he had two Collegues, one of which was *Pelopidas*, a very valiant Man; who falling under the Envy of some Crimes that were fasten'd upon him by his Adversaries, all their Commands were taken from them, and new Pretors appointed to succeed. *Epaminondas* refus'd to obey this Act of State, and persuaded his Collegues to do the like; and so they proceeded in the Management of that War. The Reason upon which *Epaminondas* acted was this: *He foresaw (if he comply'd) the Ignorance and Folly of the design'd Commanders would ruin the Army. The Law was, That it should be Death for any Man to*

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*retain his Command longer than was limited by his Commission. This Epaminondas well understood, and the Danger of it; but did not think fit, that the Law, which was made for the Preservation of the Commonwealth, should be turn'd to its Ruin; therefore he durst continue his Command four Months longer than the People had enacted. After their Return Home, his Collegues being impeach'd upon this Crime, he permitted them to cast the whole Guilt upon him, and to plead, That it was wholly thro' his means they had not obey'd the Orders of the State. Which Plea brought them clearly off: But none could believe Epaminondas would make any Reply, because the Crime being plain, they could not fancy what Defence could be made in the Case. He makes his Appearance, pleads guilty to his Indictment, and confesses all that his Collegues had laid to his Charge; and tells them, that he was very ready to undergo the Punishment the Law appointed; but now, being a dying Man, desir'd this one Favour of them, that this Inscription might be wrote on his Tomb: Epaminondas was put to Death by the Thebans, because at Leuctra he forced them to overcome the Lacedæmonians; whom, before he was General, not a Man of the whole Country of Bœotia had the Courage to look upon in the Field; and that in one Battle he not only rais'd Thebes from out of its Ruins, but restor'd all Greece*

Greece its Liberty; and so far chang'd the Scene of Affairs, that the Thebans besieg'd Sparta, and the Lacedæmonian Pride was brought so low as to be contented not to be Slaves; neither, tho' commanded, would he lay down his Arms, till he had fortify'd Messena, and by that means laid a perpetual Bridle upon the proud City of Sparta. This Speech rais'd Admiration, Laughter, and Applause in the whole Assembly; so that not one of the Judges durst give their Verdict: And thus he came off this Trial for his Life with great Reputation. The last time he was General was at Mantinea; where, pressing too boldly upon the Enemies, they soon apprehended the Advantage, and (knowing his Death would be the Safety of their Country) turn'd their whole Force upon him, encompass'd him, and would not leave the Pursuit, till after a great Slaughter on both sides, and a brave Resistance made by *Epaminondas*, they saw him, (wounded with a Dart) fall to the Ground. This sad Accident did at first somewhat discourage the *Bæotians*; but recollecting themselves, Revenge succeeded Grief, and they gave not over till they had utterly routed the Enemy. *Epaminondas* finding himself mortally wounded, and knowing, that should the Shaft be pull'd out of his Head, he must immediately die, kept it in so long, till 'twas told him his Army had got the

Victory: *Then (says he) I have liv'd long enough, for I shall die unconquer'd.* So the Iron being drawn out, he immediately expir'd. He was never married; for which *Pelopidas*, (who had a very debauch'd Son) thus reproving him, *That he took but little Care of the Commonwealth, who would not leave Children behind him to support it after his Death:* He replies, *Consider whether you do not perform worse Offices to it, in leaving so lewd an Heir, who may help to destroy, but cannot maintain a Commonwealth:* But as for me, *I cannot want Issue; the Leuctrian Victory is my Offspring, which will not only survive me, but immortalize my Name.* At the time that the Exiles, under the Conduct of *Pelopidas*, surpriz'd *Thebes*, and drove the *Lacedæmonian* Garrison out of the Castle, *Epaminondas* (so long as his own Citizens were engag'd in the Fight) kept himself at Home, and forbore all Action. The Reason of which Proceeding was, that he could not in Honour join with these Betrayers of their Country, nor would he appear in Arms against them, because he would not stain himself with the Blood of his Countrymen; for he well knew, *That Victory in a Civil War was at best but an unfortunate Prize.* But this same Man, as soon as the Battle was drawn off as far as the *Cadmea*, and the *Lacedæmonians* only concern'd, thrust himself into the foremost Rank. I think I shall have said enough of  
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the Virtues and Actions of this great Man, if I add but this one thing, which none can deny, That before *Epaminondas's* Birth, and after his Death, *Thebes* was constantly subject to a foreign Power; but on the contrary, while he presided in that Commonwealth, it became the leading State of Greece. Whence we may draw this Conclusion, *That the Bravery of one great Man does more advance a State, than the whole Mass of People.*





THE  
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O F  
PELOPIDAS.

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Done into *English* by Mr. Creech.

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PELOPIDAS, the *Theban*, is more famous in History than common Talk; of whose Virtues I cannot tell in what manner I shall treat: For should I give a full Description of his Actions, 'tis justly to be fear'd, that I should rather seem to write a History than his Life; and if I should only touch upon the Heads, that then I should cloud his Reputation; and those who are unacquainted with the *Greek* Histories, would not perceive how great a Man he was: Therefore, to the best of my Power to prevent both, I shall provide against the Satiety as well as Ignorance of my Readers. *Phabidas* the *Spartan*,

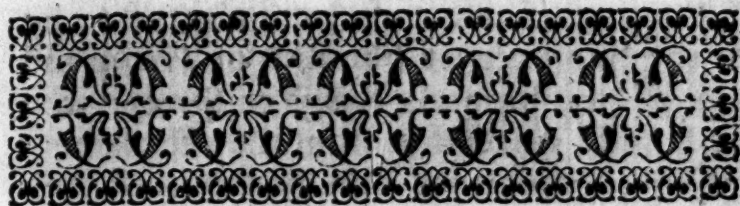
*Spartan*, as he led his Army thro' *Thebes* towards *Olynthus*, at the Instigation of some few *Thebans* (who, that they might the more easily check the contrary Faction, sided with the *Spartan* Interest) surpriz'd the Citadel *Cadmea*; and this he did, not by any Order from the State, but upon his own Head; for which the *Lacedæmonians* took away his Commission, and set a Fine upon him; but refus'd to surrender the Castle to the *Thebans*; concluding it more politick, now Distaste was once given, to continue a Guard upon them, than permit them to be free. For after the *Peloponnesian* War, and the *Athenians* overcome, they saw the *Thebans* only stand in Competition, and dare to oppose their Empire. Upon this account they put their Friends in Power; and as for the Heads of the Faction, some they butcher'd, and some they banish'd; amongst which this *Pelopidas* (whom I mention'd in the beginning) was an Exile. Almost all these fled to *Athens*, not to live lazily, and at ease, but as being the nearest and most convenient Station, whence on the first Opportunity they might endeavour the Freedom of their Country: And therefore as soon as time appear'd, upon Agreement with their Friends at *Thebes*, they made choice of that Day in which the Governors us'd to meet at a publick Banquet, to destroy their Enemies, and

free the City. Great Actions are often perform'd with no great Force ; but certainly never before, from so mean a Beginning as this, was so great an Empire overthrown : For not above twelve of the banish'd Youths undertook the Enterprize, and not above an Hundred would join with them in so dangerous an Attempt ; and yet by this despicable Number was the Power of the *Spartans* ruin'd : For these did not so much attempt the contrary Faction in *Thebes*, as the *Lacedaemonians*, the then Lords of *Greece* ; and whose Empire, first wounded by this Action, was a little while after, in the Battle of *Leuctra*, brought to the last Gasp. Now these twelve, *Pelopidas* their Leader, leaving *Athens* in the Day-time, that about the dusk of the Evening they might reach *Thebes*, to prevent Suspicion, they put themselves in a Country Dress, and appear'd like Hunters, with Hounds, Hunting-poles and Nets ; and entring the City at the very nick of time, they refresh'd themselves at *Charon's* House, by whose Appointment the Day for the Attempt was set. And here I crave leave to break my Story with a short Observation : To what great Calamities doth supine Security expose ! For the *Theban* Magistrates were quickly inform'd that the Exiles were in Town ; but being eager on their Entertainment, they slighted the Discovery so much, that they would not  
trouble

trouble themselves to examine a matter of so great Concernment. Besides, which is a clearer Demonstration of their Madnes, a Letter was brought from *Archias* the chief Priest of *Athens*, to *Archias* the chief Magistrate of *Thebes*, which made a full Discovery of the Plot. This being deliver'd him while he was at Table, without opening it, he clapt it under his Cushion, with these Words, *I adjourn Business till to Morrow*. In the dead time of the Night, when they were well drunk, the Exiles, under the Conduct of *Pelopidas*, dispatch'd them all: And that Work once over, and the common People call'd in to Liberty and Arms, many from the Country as well as Town came in to their Assistance. They beat the *Spartan* Garrison out of the Castle, freed their Country, and as for those who entic'd *Phabidas* to surprize the *Cadmea*, some they executed, and some they banish'd. All this unquiet time, *Epaminondas* (as I hinted in his Life) whilst the Citizens only quarrell'd amongst themselves, never stirr'd; and therefore the freeing of *Thebes* is the peculiar Glory of *Pelopidas*. In almost all other Exploits *Epaminondas* had a Share; for in the Battle at *Leuctra* *Epaminondas* was General, and *Pelopidas* Captain of a select Band, which first broke the main Body of the *Spartans*; and in all Enterprizes he made one. Thus when *Sparta* was storm'd, he

commanded one Wing; and that the old *Messenians* might quickly recover their own Country, he himself went an Ambassador to the *Persian*: In short, he was the other Man at *Thebes*; tho' but second, yet so as to be next *Epaminondas*. He had also cross Fortune to encounter; for first (as I have already mention'd) he liv'd in Banishment; and when he design'd to bring *Thessaly* under the *Theban* Power, and thought the Character of an Ambassador, which all Nations hold sacred, was a sufficient Protection, he and *Ismenias* were seiz'd by *Alexander* the *Pherean* Tyrant, and clapt in Chains. *Epaminondas* warr'd on *Alexander*, and reliev'd him; but neither after that could he be Friends with him that had offer'd the Affront; and therefore he perswaded the *Thebans* to undertake the Protection of *Thessaly*, and expel the Tyrants. He being chief Commander in that Expedition, and having led his Forces into *Thessaly*, as soon as ever he came in sight of the Enemy, hasted to a Battle: In which Fight, when he saw *Alexander*, fir'd with Rage, he spurr'd his Horse towards him, and advancing a great way before his Soldiers, was shot through. This happen'd in his second Victory; for the Tyrant's Forces were already routed. For this Action, all the Cities of *Thessaly* honour'd dead *Pelopidas* with golden Crowns, and brazen Statues; and gave his Children a considerable piece of Land.

THE




THE  
L I F E  
O F  
*A G E S I L A U S.*

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Done into *English* by Mr. Scott, M. A. and  
Fellow of *Queen's College, Oxon.*

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 *GESILAUS* of *Lacedæmon* is  
a Person highly applauded by  
the greater part of Historians,  
particularly by *Xenophon*, Scholar  
of *Socrates*, who treats him with a singular  
Respect. At first he stood in Competition  
for the Crown with *Leotychides*, his Brother  
*Agis's* Son. It was a receiv'd Custom  
among the *Spartans*, to dignify two Persons  
at a time with the Name of King, tho' in  
effect neither of them had much of the  
H 6      \* Power.

\* Power. These two were always to be of the two eminent Families of *Proclus* and *Eurysthene*s, formerly Kings of *Sparta*; who had both descended from the ever famous *Hercules*, and from him had derived their Titles: Yet especial Care was taken that the two Lines should not mix and confound, but that each should descend in its proper Channel; and that in both these the eldest Heir Male should always succeed; and in defect of him, the next Prince of the Blood; the Female Sex being excluded. *Agis* in his Life-time had denied *Leotychides* to be † legitimate; but being better advis'd at his Death, declar'd him to be his Son; which gave Encouragement to *Leotychides*, after the Decease of *Agis*, to dispute the Empire with his Uncle *Agefilau*s; but by the Prevalency of *Lysander*, a turbulent and potent Man in those Times, *Leotychides* was rejected, and *Agefilau*s preferred.

No.

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\* The greatest part of the executive Power was devolv'd upon the *Ephori*; only the Power of Peace and War, and imposing of Ceremonies in Religion, remaining in the King. *Arist. Pol. lib. 3. c. 10.*

† For *Leotychides* was suppos'd to be Bastard to *Alcibiades*, who, when *Agis* was absent in the Wars, was observ'd to entertain too secret a Correspondence with the Queen *Timea*; which being made known to *Agis*, he look'd upon her Issue as spurious. *Plutarch, vit. Alcib. Atheniens.*

No sooner was he invested in the Kingdom, but, being of an active Spirit, he persuades the *Lacedæmonians* to make an Invasion upon *Asia*, and to commence War against that King in his Territories; holding it a Maxim of good Policy, rather to remove a War into an Enemy's Country, than to entertain it at Home. Besides, the Noise of \* *Artaxerxes's* Arms had already reach'd *Greece*; to invade which, he had equipt a well furnish'd Fleet, and set a potent Land Army on foot: And therefore to prevent him, *Agésilauſ*, as soon as he had got his Forces in a readiness, enters *Asia* with such an incredible Expedition, that his unexpected Presence anticipated the Fame of his coming; and that King's Lieutenants found him set down in the midst of their Country, before they had any notice of his Design, to their great Astonishment and Confusion, they not being in a Posture to make any Defence. The News of so unexpected a Guest could not long be conceal'd from the Ears of *Tissaphernes*, *Artaxerxes's* Viceroy there; who, upon the first Advertisement of it, politickly desires a Truce with the *Spartans*, under pretence of his friendly Interposition, to accommodate Matters amicably.

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\* At that time King of *Persia*.

amicably and fairly betwixt both Parties; but really for nothing but to gain time to levy Forces. However it was, a Truce was agreed upon for three Months; the two Generals binding themselves with a solemn Oath to observe it. And accordingly none was more punctually observ'd by *Agésilæus*, and less by *Tissaphernes*, who improv'd the time in making Preparation for War. This the generous *Spartan* knew very well; but could not be induc'd to violate his Oath and make a Breach; saying, " That he should be the greatest Gainer at  
" length; for *Tissaphernes* by his Perjury  
" must necessarily expose himself and his  
" Undertakings to the just Indignation of  
" the Gods and Men; but that he by religious Observance should gain both Reputation and Strength to his Party; since  
" the Gods are always more propitious to,  
" and all wise Men will the rather favour  
" and wish well to those who put a Value  
" upon what they say, and are true to the  
" Trust which is repos'd in them.

The Truce expir'd, *Tissaphernes* draws down his Forces into *Caria*, partly to secure his own Possessions there, and because that Country, being of all the richest, would in all probability be the Object of the Enemies first Attempt. But he was mistaken in his Conjecture; for *Agésilæus* suddenly wheels about

about into \* *Phrygia*, which he over-ran with such Celerity, that he had depopulated the whole Country, before *Tissaphernes* had advanc'd one Foot forward to its Relief.

Having here gratified his Soldiers with the Spoils of the Place, he brought them back to their Winter Quarters at *Ephesus*, where he set the *Artisans* on work to prepare and furnish him with all sorts of Arms; and those of his Soldiers who were industrious to fit and accouter themselves therewith, he (for the Encouragement of others) oblig'd with some special Reward or Mark of his Favour; as likewise every one who in their daily military Exercises particularly signaliz'd himself above the rest; by which means he effected, that in a few Days he had the best appointed, and the best disciplin'd Army in the World. When it was time to leave his Winter Quarters, he publicly proclaim'd what way he really design'd to direct his Course; having learnt by good Experience, that the incredulous *Asian* would never believe the Protefts of his  
Enemy,

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\* *Frontinus*, lib. 1. c. 8. speaking of this Expedition, instead of *Phrygia* reads *Lydia*; but the Mistake is not great; for *Phrygia*, which is a Province in *Asia Minor*, has *Caria*, *Lydia*, *Mysia* and *Bithynia*, bordering so nearly upon it, that, as *Strabo* says, they are not easily distinguished, but are often promiscuously taken one for another.

Enemy, but would certainly send his Forces to guard those Provinces which were most distant from that which he declar'd himself ready to invade. Accordingly it prov'd; for *Agefilaus* manifesting his Design to make an Inroad into \* *Sardis*, *Tissaphernes* (whose own Fault it was thus to be deceived the second time) again advances into *Caria* to defend it; but by the Event discovering his Error, he returns with all speed to the Assistance of *Sardis*; but it was almost too late; for by that time he had reach'd the Place, the active *Agefilaus* had posted himself in all the most important Places of the Country, and had loaded himself with the Spoils of it. The *Asians* were much stronger in Horse; and therefore the wary *Spartans* declin'd all Opportunities of engaging in open Campaign, and made choice of Places, the Difficulty of which render'd the Enemy's Horse of little or no Advantage to them; by which Policy he always remained absolute Conqueror in *Asia*, tho' much inferior in Power; ballancing the Inequality of Number with the Excellency of his Conduct.

But whilst he was consulting to extend his Victories into the very Bowels of *Persia*, and to make the *Sultan* himself sensible of the heavy Stroke of his Arms, he receives  
an

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\* The Royal City of *Lydia*, *Hor. Ep. 11. lib. 1.*  
*Quid concinna Samos? quid Cræsi Regia Sardis?*

an Express from the *Ephori* of *Sparta*, commanding his speedy Return thither; the *Athenians* and *Bæotians* having denounced open War against that State. And here we have a fair Opportunity of discovering the excellent Piety as well as Fortitude of *Agefilans*; who, when he was at the Head of a victorious Army, and might, in despite of the World, have put himself in Possession of the whole Empire of *Persia*, did yet, notwithstanding so advantageous a Prospect, submit to the Commands of the absent Magistrates with so much Readiness and Condescension, as if he had wore the Character of a private Commoner in *Sparta*, rather than of so great a Prince. A rare Example, worthy of the best of Emperors! *Agefilans*, the incomparable *Agefilans*! to the Scorn and Contempt of the ambitious World, chooses rather to be Master of a good Reputation, than of the most flourishing Empire; rather to command the Affections of his Country, than to be Lord of *Asia*. Accordingly he is resolv'd, and in pursuance of this so generous a Resolution, uses such Expedition, that he passes the *Hellepont* with his whole Army in thirty Days, which *Xerxes* could not accomplish under a whole Year. But when he came near to *Peloponnese*, he found his way block'd up at

\* *Coronea*

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\* A City in *Bæotia*.

*Coronea* by the *Athenians*, *Bæotians*, \* and their Confederates, who had posted themselves there to impede him in his Passage. But in vain did they contend against him who had Fortune at his Command; for at the first Encounter he gave them a total Rout. The Victory was great; but yet the Praise of it was further enhanced by his religious Clemency; for when some of the Enemy, escap'd from the Battel, had taken Sanctuary in † *Minerva's Temple*, and he was ask'd, what he would be pleas'd to determine concerning them, he strictly forbid any Violence to be offer'd to them; tho' he might justly have sacrific'd them as proper Victims to his deep Resentments, and to that noble Blood which he himself had expended in the Quarrel, having receiv'd some considerable Wounds in the Fight. But his religious Respect towards the sacred Temples did not only evidence it self in *Greece*, but in *Asia* too, where he express'd the like Concern to preserve the sacred Altar and the Images of the Gods from Violence and Prophanation: And he was often observ'd to say; " That in his Opinion, he  
" was

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\* The *Thebans*, *Athenians*, *Argives*, *Corinthians*, *Eubæans* and *Locrians*, as *Xenophon* gives the Account.

† Which was at *Itonia*, a City in *Thessaly*, so called ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰτῶντος ἡρώος αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἰτωνία Ἀθλῶν, says *Stephanus* from *Iton*.

“ was equally sacrilegious who offer’d Violence to the Altar, or the Votary at the Altar; and that in effect he was the Criminal who was an Enemy to the sacred Place, or the Religion of the Place.

After this, *Corinth* was the chief Seat of Action, from whence this took the Denomination of the *Corinthian* War. Here, albeit in one Engagement he had left 10000 of his Enemies breathless upon the Ground, and had so far weakened the Enemies Forces, that in all Mens Opinions they were perfectly broken, and incapacitated ever to rally again; yet the generous *Agefilans*, no less a Master of himself than the Enemy, was so far from entertaining himself with any insolent Conceits of his own Atchievements, that with a noble Compassion he deplored the unhappy State of *Greece*, which through its own Divisions should lose the Lives of so many brave Men; whose Valour, if it had been plac’d on a right level, and directed accordingly, would inevitably have prov’d the Ruin of *Persia*. After this, having pent up the Enemy within the Walls of *Corinth*, he was advis’d to lay close Siege to that Place; but generously reply’d, “ That it was beneath the Prudence of his Conduct so to do; for altho’ he knew very well how to reduce a Criminal to a Sense of his Duty, yet he did not think the Cities of *Greece* proper Objects of his Valour;

" our; for whilst *Greece* fought against *Greece*,  
 " and destroy'd its own Members, whose  
 " Concern against the common Enemy (the  
 " *Barbarian*) was one and the same, every  
 " Member, which by this means was rent  
 " and torn off, was lost to the whole Body,  
 " whose Strength was thereby impair'd,  
 " and it incapacitated to resist the At-  
 " tempts of the Enemy, who would im-  
 " prove the Advantage of their Divisions  
 " to their Confusion.

In the mean time happen'd that unfortu-  
 nate Battel at *Leuctra*, fatal to the *Lacedæ-  
 monians*, whither *Agésilans*, as if he had  
 been conscious of the Event, could not by  
 any Art be perswaded to go; but after-  
 wards, when *Epaminondas* had invested the  
 City *Sparta* \*, it being at that time naked,  
 and not defended with any Wall, *Agésilans*  
 behav'd himself with so much Gallantry  
 and Resolution, that in all Mens Opinion,  
 if *Sparta* had wanted her *Agésilans*, she had  
 not long been *Sparta*. One remarkable  
 Instance there was, wherein his expedite  
 and seasonable Counsel discover'd it self to  
 the Advantage of all; for when some rash  
 young Men, terrified with the Report of  
 the

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\* *Thucydides* in his Proem says, that the Cities of  
*Greece* had no Walls; but afterwards the *Spartan Ty-*  
*rants*, distrusting the Strength of their Arms, encom-  
 pass'd *Sparta* with a strong Wall. *Justin. lib. 14.*

the *Thebans* Approach, had taken up a Resolution to pass over to them, and in order thereto had possess'd themselves of a Post without the City, *Agefilans* foreseeing the ill Consequence and Example of it, if any of his Men should be known to go over to the Enemy, " he cunningly joins himself  
" with them, commends their Choice of  
" that Place where they were posted, and  
" tells them, that he himself had design'd  
" the same before ; and therefore that he  
" would be their Leader, and the Compa-  
" nion of their Fortunes. They, caught with this Stratagem, presently return'd to their Allegiance, and having some of *Agefilans*'s Followers join'd with them, lay aside all thoughts of surrendring the Place ; for their Numbers being augmented with Men of good Experience and Conduct, they durst not embrace any treacherous Design, and desisted the more willingly, because they thought that their Treason was not yet discover'd.

After the Battle of *Leuctra*, *Sparta* could never recover itself, or regain its pristine Majesty and Power ; yet *Agefilans* bravely bore up under all Fortunes, and never wanted a helping Hand to sublevate the sinking State. Particularly, when the *Lacedæmonians* were one time in great want for Money, he, by protecting those who had been defective in their Duty, and had incur'd the Censure of the Laws, obtain'd  
great

great Sums of Money from them, all which he frankly bestow'd upon the Publick. And this was more signally remarkable in him, that of all the rich Presents which were given him by Kings, Noble Persons, or Cities which he had oblig'd, he never converted any to his own private Use; neither did he ever deviate from the laudable Frugality and Thrift of the *Spartans*: His Diet was homely, his Apparel plain, his Lodging not adorn'd with the novel Bravery of the Times, but the same with that of *Eurysthenes* the Founder of his Family; into which if you should enter, you would find no Provision for Lust, none for Luxury; but Patience was the Ornament of it, Abstinence its best Furniture, with these it abounded; but in other things it was not distinguish'd from the House of a poor Man or private Person.

But Nature was not more indulgent to this great Person in bestowing upon him so many excellent Qualities of Mind, than she was niggardly in dispensing the Graces of his Body; for he was low of Stature, and lame of one Foot; which latter Defect made him appear something deform'd; and Strangers, that beheld his Face and the outward Frame of his Body, slighted and contemn'd him; but those that were acquainted with the inward Accomplishments of his Mind, could never admire him  
enough.

enough. According to his former Custom, when he was eighty Years old, and was come into *Egypt* as Auxiliary to \* *Thacus*, he lay down to sleep upon the Shore amongst his Followers, without any Roof above him but that of Heaven, or Bed under him but the Earth, which he cover'd with Straw, a Beast's Skin being his Coverlet. In the same manner lay all his Companions round him in mean and very contemptible Habit, and which was so far from signifying the Person of a King to be amongst them, that it rather gave cause to suspect him to be some despicable mean Person. When the Noise of his coming was bruited abroad, and had reach'd the Ears of the *Persian*, Messengers with Presents were instantly sent to him; tho' when they came and enquir'd which was *Agésilus*, they could scarce be induc'd to believe that he was one of those that lay down in that neglected Manner. But when, after their Complements made, they had tender'd their  
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\* *Thacus* having been constituted by the King of *Persia* chief Commander of all his Forces in *Egypt*, had treacherously caused *Egypt* and the Forces under his Command to revolt from the *Persian*, and made himself King; which gave occasion to the World to reprehend *Agésilus* for this Action, it being thought unworthy of so great a Man, and a *Grecian* too, for Lucre sake to give Assistance to so base a Rebel. *Plutarch*.

Presents to him, he only made choice of some Veal-flesh, and other Victuals for present use, and had distributed amongst his Servants the sweet Ointments, the Coronets, with the more curious Fare, and reserv'd nothing for himself, but sent back all the rest again. The *Barbarians* then look'd upon him with greater Contempt than before, imputing it to his Ignorance, that he made choice of those less valuable things. Afterwards, when he left *Egypt*, he was presented by King \* *Nectanabes* with 220 Talents, all which he liberally distributed amongst his Followers the *Lacedæmonians*. Coming from thence into a Haven betwixt *Cyrenè* and *Egypt*, commonly known by the Name of † *Menelaus's* Haven, he unhappily fell sick of a fatal Disease, of which he ‖ died. His Friends, in order to convey his dead Body, in defect of Honey, anointed it with Wax, and carried it home to *Sparta*.

T H E

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\* *Diodorus* affirms this King *Nectanabes* to be *Thacus* himself, who thus rewarded him for confirming him in his Kingdom; but *Plutarch* will have him to be Cousin to *Thacus*, who being, during these Com-motions, declared King, was grateful to *Agessilaus* for the good Service he had done him.

† *Strabo* mentions this Port of *Menelaus*, so call'd from *Menelaus* the *Grecian*, who coming into *Æthiopia*, and from thence sailing into *Africa*, came to Land with his Ships in the Coasts about *Ardania*, which from thence forwards took his Name.

‖ After he had liv'd 84 Years, and reign'd 41. *Plut.*



THE  
L I F E  
O F  
E U M E N E S.

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Done into *English* by Mr. Ch. Allestree, M. A.  
of *Christ-Church College, Oxon.*

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U M E N E S was a Native of *Cardia*, and so eminent for personal Courage, that had his Fortune or Success been in any degree equal to it, he had not, 'tis true, been really greater than he was, (because we measure the Greatness of an Hero by his inward Virtue, and not by any outward Circumstances of Fortune) but still he had been more honourable and illustrious, and Fame had render'd him more considerable in the Eye of the World. It was his Unhappiness to be born in an Age wherein the *Macedonians* flourish'd, and were at that  
1 height

height of Renown, as to eclipse his Merit : Neither was it any small matter of Reproach and Detraction to him (who liv'd constantly amongst them) to be ignominiously upbraided with the Appellation of a Foreigner, and a Man descended of a mean Stock ; and yet he himself was the chief of the Family he sprung from. So that, upon these Reasons, they envy'd him the Glory of Precedence, and yet were forc'd to be content and submit to it : For he surpass'd them all in the Qualifications of a Statesman, in Care, Industry, and Patience ; in Subtilty of Contrivance, and Quickness of Invention. These Endowments recommended him early to the Acquaintance of King *Philip* ; which in a very short time he improv'd into a most intimate Familiarity and Friendship ; for as young as he was, there appear'd such a Genius, and generous Spirit, as promis'd much future Greatness. So that the King constituted him his Secretary ; which is an Employment of greater Reputation and Honour amongst the *Grecians* than it is with the *Romans* ; for we justly esteem Persons of that Character, as they really are, to be only mercenary Scribes, and employ'd for Gain ; but on the contrary, no Man was ever in *Greece* advanc'd to the Dignity of that Station, but such as were born of honest Parents, were of approv'd Integrity, and had Abilities

lities fit for the Service : And the Reason is, because their Office gives them Access to Princes, makes them necessarily acquainted with great Intrigues, and the secret Measures and Resolutions of all their Councils. He enjoy'd this Honour and Place in his Affection during the last seven Years of King *Philip's* Reign, and (after his Death) was continued in the same Character under *Alexander the Great* for thirteen more ; and at last was preferr'd to command that Wing of the Horse which was called the *SOCIAL WING*, from the Confederacy of the Allies that constituted it. In short, he was Privy-Councillor to both these Princes, and intrusted with the sole Management of their Business, and all Matters of Importance.

When *Alexander* was dead at *Babylon*, his Provinces came to be distributed equally to the several Officers who enjoy'd his Favour. It was *Perdiccas's* Fortune (since *Craterus* and *Antipater*, tho' more in Esteem with *Alexander*, were absent at this Delegation ; and *Hephestion*, whom *Alexander* lov'd as passionately as himself, was dead also) to have the Command or Superintendency of the whole lodg'd in his Hands : And this was conjectur'd by the Ring that *Alexander* (when he lay speechless) took from his Finger, and gave, as a peculiar Instance of his Kindness ; intimating by this

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Pledge,

Pledge, that he nominated him Protector of the Empire, and intrusted the Government of his Dominions to his Conduct, whilst his Children were in their Minority, and remain'd under his Guardianship. In this Distribution of Provinces, the Government of *Cappadocia* fell to *Eumenes's* share, or rather was assign'd to him ; and the Title only of Lieutenant conferr'd upon him, the Country at that time being actually in Possession of the Enemy. It was the Policy of *Perdiccas* to make this Man his Friend, and gain him to his Interest, which he endeavour'd to accomplish by all the Endearments imaginable ; because he knew him industrious in the Employment of War, and unalterably true to the Principle of his first Engagement ; presuming with much Reason and Confidence, that if he could move him to espouse his Cause, his Service would be more than ordinarily instrumental to bring about those great Affairs which he had then in hand ; for he intended (that which almost all Men in Empire propose to themselves) an Universal Monarchy, and to grasp all Power in his Hands. Neither was he single and alone in this Design upon the Sovereignty of the World ; for the same Lust of Power equally spread it self, and ran through all the Governors of *Alexander's* Provinces : And accordingly we find *Leonatus* affecting the Command of *Macedonia*,

*donia*, and attempting to invest himself in the Government of that Province; and, in order thereunto, plying *Eumenes* with the Bait of Preferment and Proposals of Honour to desert *Perdiccas*, and make a strict League and Alliance with him. And when his Arguments and Promises were ineffectual to corrupt his Honesty, or seduce him from the Friendship he bore *Perdiccas*, he treacherously sought his Death, and had certainly accomplish'd it, but that *Eumenes* privately made his Escape by Night, and so avoided the Danger.

In the mean time, whilst these ambitious Designs were forming, seem'd to be laid the Foundation of those ensuing Wars, which (after *Alexander's* Death) raged even to the Excision of the several Parties in the Contest; and all of them (as one Man) join'd themselves in a Confederacy to suppress *Perdiccas*, and prevent his growing Greatness. Now, tho' *Eumenes* was sensible of the Danger of his Friend, and knew that he was unable to stem the Tide, or with his single Forces overpower that formidable and united Body of Men that were rais'd against him; yet he would not desert him in Extremity, but was more mindful of his Honour, than the Consideration of his own Safety. *Perdiccas* had put him in a Place of Trust, and constituted him Governor of that Part of *Asia*

which lies betwixt Mount *Taurus* and the *Hellepont*, and fix'd him commodiously at that Post, for the Conveniency of stopping the *Europeans*, and keeping them from falling in upon the Rear; whilst he in the mean time undertook an Expedition into *Egypt*, and design'd to encounter *Ptolomy*. And yet *Eumenes* was left in no good condition to fight, for the Troops he had with him were not considerable either for Number or Courage, being for the most part raw and unexperienc'd, ignorant of all Discipline, and rais'd hastily from the Refuse of the People: So that when *Craterus* and *Antipater* (Men of Renown and Terror in the Art of War) were said to have pass'd the *Hellepont*, and advancing towards him with an Army of old *Macedonian* Soldiers, (where by the way I must tell you, that these *Macedonian* Soldiers were thought as terrible in the Trade of War, as the *Romans* are now with us; for those are ever counted the best Soldiers, that are levy'd from that Country which is the Seat of the Empire) *Eumenes* was confident, that if his Men should know the Power and Strength of the Enemy, and against whom they were drawn out to fight, they would be so far from going chearfully upon the Expedition, that they would drop down dead with the News: It was his Care therefore to preserve them in Ignorance

rance of his Design, and to lead them through unknown and by Roads, where no certain or authentick Intelligence could possibly come to disabuse them; and to bear them in hand, that their Arms were to be employ'd against the *Barbarians*, to revenge the Insolence of a sort of People, that had offer'd Affronts and Acts of Hostility to their Country. Acting therefore by these Measures of Secresy, he had marshall'd and dispos'd his Army in the best Array in the World for the Engagement, and had quite ended the Battle, before ever the Soldiers knew their Adversaries, or against whom they drew their Swords: And yet it is to be confess'd, that this Overthrow is to be ascribed to another Reason, *viz.* to the advantageous Choice he made of the Ground, wherein his Horse alone (which was the Strength of his Army) might bear the Onset and Attack of the Enemy, and he not obliged to expose his Infantry to the Shock, which was very inconsiderable.

In this smart Conflict, which lasted almost till Night, *Craterus* the General, and *Neoptolemus*, who had the second Place of Command in the Field, were both slain. *Eumenes* engaged personally in the Fight with *Neoptolemus*; and so violent was their Hatred and Animosity to each other, that when their grappling had dislodg'd the Riders from their Horses, and thrown them  
I 4 both

both to the Ground, they could not be disengag'd from their Hold, or parted by any thing, but the Death of one of the Combatants; so that they seem to have bore an internal Malice, and to have waged War principally in their Minds, and made their Bodies only Seconds and Instruments in the Quarrel. In this Conflict *Eumenes* receiv'd some small Wounds; but they were not so dangerous as to induce him, for his Cure, to sound a Retreat and leave the Field; but rather animated him to a fresh Pursuit, and a more vigorous Slaughter of the Enemy: So that when he had entirely routed the Horse, slain *Craterus*, and taken a vast Number of Prisoners (of the best Rank and Quality in the Army) the Foot, seeing themselves destitute of Succour, and lodg'd in such narrow Places, where 'twas impossible for them to make their Escape with Safety, surrender'd themselves upon Discretion, and pray'd for Quarter. They no sooner obtain'd this Grant of their Lives from *Eumenes*, but treacherously, upon the first Opportunity, broke their Faith, and (contrary to the Engagement of Captives) revolted with as much speed as they were able to the Enemies Camp, and took part with *Antipater*. However, *Eumenes* generously labour'd to recover *Craterus* from his Wounds, who was brought from the Field with some faint Breathings and Signs of Life to his Tent;

Tent; and when he saw that 'twas impossible for Art to cure him, out of Deference to the Character he bore, and to the Friendship that was once betwixt them (for they were intimate Companions in *Alexander's* Life-time) he celebrated his Obsequies with great Pomp, and sent his Ashes to his Wife and Children into *Macedon*.

Whilst these great Actions were atchiev'd about the *Hellepont*, *Perdiccas* was treacherously kill'd in an Engagement upon the River *Nile* by *Seleucus* and *Antigonus*; so that the whole Administration of Affairs devolv'd upon *Antipater*. Here those who had deserted the Army, by a Council of War were proclaim'd Traytors, and (tho' absent) condemn'd to lose their Heads. Amongst the Number of those who lay under this hard Sentence, *Eumenes* was chief; who was really disturb'd at the Injustice of his Fate, but not to that degree as to make him despond, or desist from the Prosecution of the War. And yet this Proscription, tho' it might seem insignificant to affect a Man that was really in Arms, yet it had this Effect, as to rebate the Greatness of that Courage, which it was unable utterly to overthrow. *Antigonus*, (who was provided with good Store both of Ammunition and Men) in pursuance to this Decree, follow'd *Eumenes* in the Rear, and gave some Disturbances to his Troops by small Skirmishes on  
I 5 the

the Road ; but was never able to force him to a pitch'd Battle, only in such narrow Places, where a small Party was sufficient to engage the Front of his whole Army. And yet at last, when he was not to be undermin'd by Policy or Prudence, he was supplanted and almost ruin'd by the Treachery of a Multitude ; but yet, even here, he extricated himself out of this Difficulty ; and, with the loss of some of his Men, retir'd safe to a Citadel in *Phrygia*, call'd *Nora* ; wherein he was so close besieg'd by *Antigonus*, and abridg'd of room to air his Horses in, that he fear'd their Dissuetude from Exercise would speedily breed a Murrain, and cause a Destruction amongst them ; so that, to prevent this Inconvenience, he made use of an Expedient, whereby they might in the same Stall procure a better Appetite to their Fodder, and yet not want the Benefit of Riding. He devis'd this way, and ty'd their Heads so high to the Rack with Halters, that they could by no means touch the Earth with their Forefeet ; and then his Grooms, with the Discipline of the Whip, laying on behind, oblig'd them to leap and kick backwards to revenge the Stroke. This Motion, or Agitation of Body, caus'd as much Sweating as if they had been actually breath'd in a Course ; so that (what was the most wonderful thing of all) by this Management the  
Horses

Horses were brought from the Castle, after many Months Siege, as clean, and in as good liking, as if they had been air'd every day in the Fields. When he was thus block'd up, as oft as he thought convenient, he made Incurfions into the Enemies Camp, and either burnt or demolish'd the Fortifications and Intrenchments of *Antigonus*; but still he kept himself close in his Garrison during the Winter Season, because he could not in the Field have the Advantage of a Castle for his Defence and Shelter; but as soon as the Spring approach'd, under the pretence of yielding the Place, and making Conditions of Peace, he impos'd upon *Antigonus's* Officers (who had the Management of the Treaty) and deliver'd himself and his Soldiers both from the Straitness and Danger of the Siege.

To him *Olympias*, the Mother of *Alexander*, made her Application, and address'd from *Epirus* (where she then dwelt) Letters to him into *Asia*, to importune his Aid, and desire his Assistance to recover *Macedon*, and invest her in the Possession of that Empire. *Eumenes*, in his Answer, advis'd her to desist from her Pretensions, or at least to wait the time, when the Son of *Alexander* should assume the Government; but if her Ambition should hurry her, against this Advice, to invade *Macedon*, by all means she ought to forget old Injuries, and not  
I 6 exercise

exercise any Acts of Cruelty against her Subjects. She follow'd none of his Counsel; for she did go into *Macedonia*, and reign'd there with all the Tyranny and Barbarity imaginable: So that her Government becoming generally odious, she was forc'd to write again to *Eumenes*, and beseech him not to suffer the inveterate Enemies of her House to extirpate the very Race and Memory of *Philip*, but to bring speedy Relief to the poor Remains and Posterity of *Alexander*: Which Request of hers, if it were so reasonable as to be clos'd with, she further intreated him to raise what Forces he could and bring to her Assistance; and that he might the more readily comply with this Motion, for his Encouragement, she had already oblig'd all her Officers (who had not yet shook off their Allegiance) to obey him, and submit themselves to be regulated by his Orders. *Eumenes* was so exalted with the Honour of his Employment, and Greatness of the Character he was put into, that he chose rather to embrace Death (if the Gods would have it so) in a generous Return of the Service to his great Benefactor, than to live ignominiously, and with Security, under the Brand and Appellation of Ingratitude.

Accordingly he makes a new Levy of Men, and prepares himself for a War against *Antigonus*. Now there were at that time several

veral of the *Macedonian* Nobility with him, and amongst them *Peucestes*, who was of the Bed-chamber to *Alexander*, and had the Government of *Persia* conferr'd upon him, and *Antigonus*, who commanded the *Macedonian Phalanx*. *Eumenes* thought it was impossible to decline Envy, or prevent Disgust, if he, who was a Stranger, should arrogate the Command, and prefer himself to be General in the Army, when there was so vast a Concourse and Appearance of *Macedonian* Noblemen with him; and yet being unwilling to be laid aside from the Employment, he takes a middle way to avoid the Danger: He erects a Pavilion in the Camp, and calls it by the Name of *Alexander's* Tent; and there orders all the Royal Furniture of a Golden Throne, a Scepter, and a Diadem, to be plac'd where the Officers met constantly to treat of publick Affairs, the Negotiation of War; being of Opinion, that by this means he should not be oppress'd with Envy, if, under the pretence and umbrage of *Alexander's* Name, he carry'd on the War. Which Point he accomplished according to his Design: For when the principal Officers met and concerted their Measures seemingly at the Royal Pavilion, and not at *Eumenes's* Tent, his Superiority in a manner was conceal'd, and yet in effect he manag'd the whole Business of the Consult.

When:

When the Point of Precedency was in this manner accommodated, *Eumenes* met *Antigonus*, and had an Encounter with him in *Paratasis*, not in a formal pitch'd Battle, where the whole Army was engaged, but in small Skirmishes by Parties, where *Antigonus* was constantly worsted, and obliged to retire to his Winter Quarters in *Media*. He in the mean time lodg'd his Forces in the Country of *Persia*, not as if he had chose the Place for any Advantage to himself, but the Obstinacy of his Soldiers obliged him to it; for that Wing of his Army (with which *Alexander* over-run *Asia*, and conquer'd *Persia*) were so insolent with the Sense of their former Victories, and the Glory they atchiev'd there, that they thought it their Business to command, and not follow their Leaders: Which really is the true Character of our *Veterans*. And there is this Danger in employing either of them, for fear their Unruliness and untractable Spirit should have this Effect of destroying all before them, and their Pride turn as prejudicial to their own Party, as their Valour is fatal to the Enemy: And if any one will take the pains to examine and compare the Actions of both, he must necessarily find a great Parity and Resemblance betwixt them, and no other Difference but in point of time. But to return from this Digression; *Eumenes* quar-  
ter'd

ter'd his Men in Posts, not convenient for the Business of War, but accommodate to the Luxury of his Soldiers; and for this end they lay scatter'd in the Country, in no Order at all, but at a great distance from each other. *Antigonus* was sensible of the Disorder they were in, and withal conscious of his Inability to attack them with Success, if they were form'd into a Body, or put in a Posture to receive him; and therefore chang'd his Measures of assaulting them openly, and upon warning, and took new Resolutions of doing it by Surprise. There were two ways leading from his Winter Quarters in *Media* to his Enemies Camp on the other side. The one of them was short, exactly in a Line, and lay cross the Country, where there was nothing but desert and uninhabitable Places, by reason of Drought and the Penury of Water, and was only ten easy Days Journey at the most: The other, which was the the more beaten Track, went round about in a Circumference, and was much the longer Passage, but still had all the Conveniences and Accommodations of Travel. He foresaw, that if he undertook to pass in the more publick Road, the Enemy must necessarily be upon their Guard, and have Intelligence of his March, before he had accomplish'd the third part of his Journey: but if he moved with his Army in a straight Line,

Eine, thro' the desert Part of the Country, he might have hopes to oppress them unawares, and unprovided for his coming. Upon this Resolution, he order'd several Pitchers and Vessels of Water to be prepar'd, and a great deal of Provinder to be in readiness; and then took care for his Soldiers, that there should be Bread and Victuals enough bak'd to serve for ten days: And this he did, because he would not be put to the necessity of making Fires upon every occasion of eating, for fear the Enemy should discover his Approach at a distance, and he should have the Secret of his Journey betray'd.

In this Equipage, he sets forward and begins the Campaign, who, notwithstanding this Care, had not travell'd above half the way, but from the Smoak in his Tents, and the Dust which his Army rais'd, *Eumenes* had great reason to suspect that the Enemy was nigh. A Council of War was therefore presently call'd, to consult what was fitting to be done in this Exigence. It was the Judgment of most that were present, that their Troops could not be embodied, or collected, so soon as *Antigonus*, with the Swiftness of his March, would be upon them. At this Debate (when almost the whole Council were at a loss, and despair'd of any Expedient of Safety) *Eumenes* assur'd the Board, *That if they would use Diligence, and obey Orders, which hitherto they*  
*abso-*

*absolutely refus'd, he would even bring things to a happy Issue; for whereas the Enemy might easily approach them in five Days time, he would order Matters so, that he should be retarded full as long, and be put back ten: Wherefore, says he, let every Officer go his Round, and collect the Soldiers that belong to his Company, and that lie scatter'd and dispers'd at large in the Country. Now this was the Project that he us'd, to put a stop to Antigonus's Motion, and divert his Course: He commanded a Party of Men to lodge themselves at the Foot of the Mountains, where the Enemy was to pass, and at the beginning of the Night to make large Fires, and extend them very wide in the Front; but to diminish the Number, and make them less in the second Row, and so proportionably small in the third and hindmost Flank, that so, by this Resemblance and Shew of a Camp, the Enemy might be induc'd to think his Design was discover'd, that they were alarm'd at his Approach, and moved their Tents, in order to meet him in the Road, and give him Battle in the Desert. This Task the Officers were to renew every Night; who, according to their Instructions, perform'd their Charge. Antigonus by this piece of Subtilty was deluded; who, as soon as it was dark, observ'd the Fires, and fell into a Belief, that these were really the Tents of his Enemies, and that the whole*

whole Army was rendezvous'd and encamp'd there to fight them; so that he chang'd his Resolution; and since he saw himself defeated of his Design, and could not possibly surprize them in Disorder, he turn'd his Course, and took the longer Passage, which lay round about the Hills in a fruitful Soil, and tarry'd a Day or two in the Country, to ease and refresh his Soldiers (that were tir'd with Fatigue) and to give rest to his Horses; that, after such a Respite and Recruit, both Man and Beast might be in a better Condition to oppose the Enemy, and more vigorously maintain the Fight.

By this Stratagem *Eumenes* over-reach'd the Policy of the General, and prevented the Suddenness of his Attack; and yet it was without any real Advantage to himself in the end; for such was the Envy of his Officers, that magligned his Glory, and so great was the Perfidiousness of the *Veteran* Soldiers, that tho' in a brave Engagement (when they had put things to a push) they return'd Conqueror from the Field, and gain'd signal Trophies of Victory, yet they deliver'd their General Prisoner, and in Chains, to *Antigonus*. And this Treachery they acted, after they had thrice religiously sworn to defend him with their Lives and Fortunes, and never to desert his Cause: But so predominant was their Envy  
above

above the Consideration of their Oaths, or the Obligation of their Fidelity, that they chose rather to violate their Faith, than not turn Instruments of his Ruin, and betray him. *Antigonus* had certainly spar'd his Life (tho' he was his most mortal and inveterate Enemy in the World) if his Council could have been induc'd to have given way to it; because he knew, that no Man living could be more serviceable to him in the Management of the Business of War, which he had then in hand, and saw a necessity of continuing it; for both *Seleucus*, *Lyfimachus*, and *Ptolomy*, (who were all Men of Power and Strength) were ready to oppress his Grandeur, and contend with him for Sovereignty and the Prize of Empire. But those who were of *Antigonus's* Council would not suffer such a Failure in Politicks, as to be willing to have his Life preserv'd, whose Promotion in a little time would certainly supplant their Esteem, and render them inconsiderable in the Army. And besides, *Antigonus* himself was so enrag'd against him, for the Outrages he had done, and the Havock that was made in the Army, that there was no Hopes of his Reconciliation, or pacifying his Anger, unless he had an Assurance of a full Compensation by future Services in War.

When he was therefore committed to Custody, and the Governor of the Prison ask'd

ask'd *Antigonus*, in what manner he would have him kept: *With the same Care*, says he, *as you would keep a wild Lion, or the fiercest Elephant*, under the strictest Guard: For he had not yet determin'd with himself, whether he would preserve his Life or no. Now there came all sorts of People to visit *Eumenes* in his Misfortune; some, out of Hatred, to glut their Eyes with the Sight, and triumph over him in Affliction: Others, upon the account of Friendship, that formerly had been betwixt them, went to comfort him in his Adversity, and pay their Complement of Condolence to him. But the greatest Number came out of Curiosity to contemplate his Form, and to know the Shape and Figure of the Man, to be able to remember and talk to their Acquaintance that they had seen the Person whom so long and so justly they had stood in dread of, and in whose Destruction all their Hopes of Victory and Peace were plac'd. *Eumenes* (whose Spirit was troubled more at the Impertinence of the Visits, than at the Grief of his Confinement) told *Onomarchus* one day in Company, when he had been long in Prison, *That he wonder'd he had been kept three Days without Death or Releasement; that it was not suitable to the Methods of Prudence to use a Captive so; but that Antigonus ought either to execute him presently, or dismiss him safe, loaded with Apprehensions of Gratitude to his*  
*Friends.*

*Friends.* Onomarchus, startled at the Boldness of this Discourse, *What?* says he, *If you really have this Courage and Bravery which you pretend, why did you not chuse rather to die honourably in the Field, than fall ignominiously into the Hands of your Enemy? Oh! would to God,* says Eumenes, *this had been in my Power or Choice; but this could not possibly be my Fate; for I never in all my Life-time had the Glory to encounter a braver Man than my self, and never contested the point of Valour with any Hero yet, but forc'd him to yield and own me the Conqueror; and now tho' I am basely in your Power, yet my Ignominy is to be ascribed to the Treachery of my Friends, and not to the Prowess of my Adversary.* Neither was any thing of this Discourse, tho' it seem'd a Rant, false; for he had both a Majesty in his Presence, that struck an Awe and Terror into the Beholder, and such a gigantick Firmness in his Make and Limbs, as seem'd to be compos'd only for Work and Labour; and yet there was such a Symmetry for Proportion of Parts, as render'd him both august and comely.

*Antigonus* durst not hastily and alone determine of this Man's Fate, but left his Case to the Consideration and Wisdom of his Council. *Here many of the Board stood astonish'd at the Neglect of Justice, and wondered that Execution was not presently done upon an Enemy, who for many Years had laid waste and*

†

ravaged

ravaged their Country, slain the chief of their Commanders, and put such a Terror and Consternation amongst the rest, that they had been brought even to Extremity and Despair: And if the Sense of these Injuries is not sufficient to justify or provoke his Ruin, yet let the Danger of his Person weigh something towards his Death. As long as he is in Being, there can be no Security for our Preservation; but we shall be constantly afraid, lest he should be violently releas'd from his Prison to head a Mutiny or Sedition in the Camp; but at his Death these Dangers cease, and there can be no Apprehension of Disturbance to be rais'd from his Ashes. But however, pursued they, if Antigonus was inclined to give him Life, they humbly intreated to know, how he would new model his Council, or where he would find Officers to have place there; for with Eumenes none of the old Commanders would either correspond, or join Interests, or be at the same Board together. Tho' the Sentiments of the Council were in this manner made known, yet Antigonus takes seven Days time to deliberate and pronounce his Doom; and then fearing an Insurrection might be caus'd by the Delay of Execution, he orders his Warders to be remov'd, his daily Sustainance to be withdrawn, and forbids all Mankind his Presence, (for still he would not offer Violence to the Man who once had been his Friend) that so he might perish with Famine, without involving others

others in the Guilt of his Blood. And yet *Eumenes*, after three Days Languishment with Hunger, when his Spirits were impair'd and sunk, unknown, and without Order from *Antigonus*, was kill'd by his Keepers, to prevent the Care of tending him in following the Camp.

Thus *Eumenes* (who, as we told you before, at twenty Years of Age was receiv'd at Court with all possible Demonstration of Kindness; who for the space of seven Years was a constant Favourite and Attendant to King *Philip*, and afterwards was admitted to the same place in *Alexander's* Esteem, and enjoyed it thirteen Years more, to that degree, that in his time he was constituted Master of the Horse in the *SOCIAL ARM*; who also, after his Death, was Commander in chief of the whole Army, and either repelled the Violence of his encroaching Competitors, or slew them in the Fight, maintaining the Boundaries and just Limits of their Power): Thus, I say, died this great Commander, in the forty fifth Year of his Age, and fell a Victim to the Treachery of his Soldiers, rather than overcome by the Prowess of *Antigonus*. It is easy to judge what Opinion the Officers (who stiled themselves Kings after *Alexander's* Death) had of this Man's Merit and Valour, by this single Instance of their Pride; since, in his Life-time, they durst not assume that swelling

ling Title, but were content with the Name and Appellation of *Præfects*; but, after his Fall, took the Honour of the Name, and all the outward Ornaments that belong to Sovereignty and a Crown'd Head: Neither did they perform what was the Pretence and Ground of War, *the Office of Guardianship, or seek to preserve the Kingdoms for Alexander's Legitimate or Natural Issue*: But as soon as *Eumenes*, the only Defender and Asserter of their Cause, was gone, they shew'd themselves openly in their own Colours, and that their Design was principally to raise and aggrandize themselves. In this Conspiracy against *Eumenes*, *Antigonus*, *Ptolemy*, *Seleucus*, *Lyfimachus*, and *Cassander*, were chiefly concern'd, and passionately sought his Ruin. However, *Antigonus* had this Honour in him, to give the Corps to be buried by his Relations, who performed his Funeral Rites in a Military Pomp, with the Attendance of the whole Army at his Hearse; and, after this Ceremony was over, transmitted his Urn into *Cappadocia*, to be religiously kept by his Wife and Children, and preserv'd there.

THE

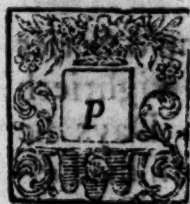


THE  
L I F E  
O F  
P H O C I O N.

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Done into *English* by Mr. Todd, Fellow of  
*University College, Oxon.*

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**P** H O C I O N the *Athenian*, tho' he  
was many times \*chief Comman-  
der of the Forces of his Country,  
and one who bore the highest Of-  
fices in the City; yet is he much  
more known for Integrity and Agreeableness  
of Life, than for any Military Exploits.  
Hence 'tis, there is no Account of these up-  
on Record, but very much said of his exact  
Way of living, and other popular Qualities,  
which gave him the Sirname of *the Beneficent*.

K

\* He

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\* Forty five times, says *Plutarch*, before ever he  
was free of the City: He was the Darling of the  
People, while out of Favour with the Govern-  
ment.

\* He was never rich, tho' the several Places of Honour and Profit freely given him by the People might have plentifully fill'd his Coffers. When King *Philip* † presented him with a vast Sum of Money, and by his Ambassadors press'd him earnestly to accept it; advising him withal, *That tho' he, for his own part, might easily dispence with the want of it; yet he ought to be concern'd for the Good of his Children, to whom it might be difficult, in a low Ebb of Fortune, to maintain the Greatness of their Father's Character; he generously refus'd the Present, and told them, If my Children prove such as myself, then that small Parcel of Ground will keep them, that has advanc'd me to this; but if they degenerate, I should be loth their Luxury should be supported or encourag'd at my Provision.*

When he had enjoy'd a continu'd Series of Prosperity, till very near the eightieth Year of his Age, in his latter Days he grew extreamly out of Favour with his Fellow-Citizens. 'Twas laid to his Charge, that

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\* The Greek Name is *χρῆσιμος* (*χρησιμῶς* *Hesych.*) which was conferr'd upon him, says *Suid.* κοινῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐν ἑκκλησίᾳ, in a Common-Hall, *nemine contradicente*, because he reliev'd many indigent Citizens, and contributed to provide for their Children.

† *Plutarch* says, it was his Son *Alexander* that sent this Gift as a Reward for the good Service he had done him, in keeping *Athens* true to his Interest while he was upon his *Asian* Expedition. The Sum was 100 Talents, about 8000 Pounds *English*.

that he conspir'd with *Demades* to deliver up the City to *Antipater* : And by his Advice, *Demosthenes*, and the rest, whom they now look'd upon as Persons that deserved well of the Commonwealth, were by Decree of Common-Council banish'd. Nor was Male-administration his only Crime; they accused him for violating the common Obligations of Friendship : For, whereas he had been advanc'd to those Honours, which he had, by the Eloquence and Interest of *Demosthenes* ; and particularly, when he took his Part against *Cares* \* in a Capital Cause, had been defended by him, and clearly brought off in open Court ; he did not only not defend *Demosthenes* , but, as was said, perfidiously betray'd him. But the Crime that most of all caus'd his Ruin was this : When the Government of the City was in his Hands , and he had notice given by *Dercyllus*, † that *Nicanor*, *Cassander's* Lieutenant General , had a design to surprize *Piræus* ; and also was desired to take special care , that the City should not want Provision ; he said publicly in the hearing of the People, that there was no

K 2

Danger

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\* An Athenian Captain, who went to assist the *Byzantines* against King *Philip* ; but managing Affairs imprudently, he was call'd Home, and *Phocion* sent in his Place.

† Who defended *Athens* on the Land-side, ὁ πρὸ τῆς χῆρας στρατῶος. *Plut.*

Danger at all; and promis'd them that he would engage his Life for their Security. Not long after, *Nicanor* took *Piræus*: And, when the People rose in Arms to regain it (without the Possession of which Fort *Athens* cannot long subsist) he not only neglected to summon the rest of the Citizens to their Assistance, but refus'd to put himself at the Head of those that were ready to make the Assault.

At that time there were two Factions in *Athens*: One stood for the Liberties of the People; the other (amongst whom were *Phocion* and *Demetrius Phalernus* \*) asserted the Prerogatives of the Nobility. Both courted the Protection and Favour of the *Macedonians*; for the chief of the popular Party favour'd *Polypercon*; the Nobles sided with *Cassander*. During these Heats, *Polypercon* drove *Cassander* out of *Macedonia*. By this Victory the People getting the upper Hand, immediately condemn'd all the Heads of the opposite Faction, and banish'd them the City; amongst whom

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\* A famous *Athenian* General, who perswaded *Ptolomy* King of *Egypt* to have the Holy Bible translated out of *Hebrew* into *Greek* by the LXXII. *Jes. Ant. lib. 12. c. 2.*

† The one General (*στρατηγός*) and the other a Captain (*χιλίαρχος*) in *Antipater's* Army; upon whose Death they fell out betwixt themselves, and by their Interest divided the *Athenians*.

whom were *Phocion* and *Demetrius Phalerus*. This done, they dispatch an Express to *Polypercon* about the Business, and desire him that he would confirm their Decree. \* *Phocion* understanding this, went thither in Person; and as soon as he appear'd, Order was given that he should plead his own Cause, in Form indeed before King † *Philip*, but in Effect before *Polypercon*; for he was, at that time, Protector of the Kingdom. One || *Agnonides* accus'd him, that he had betray'd *Piræus* to *Nicanor*; and thereupon by Order of Council he was committed to a Messenger, and remanded to *Athens*, that he might be proceeded against according to the Laws of his own Country.

At his Entrance into the City, (by reason of an Impediment in his Feet, he being forc'd to be carried in a Coach) there was a great Concourse of People to see him. Some, remembring the Greatness of his former Renown, extreamly pitied his old Age: Many were highly exasperated against him, upon Suspicion of Treason about the Business of the Fort. But that which enraged them most was, that now, in his latter Days,

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\* *Ἰσοκράτης*. *Plut.*

† *Philippus Arideus*, an effeminate, weak Prince

|| A violent bawling Lawyer, who run down *Phocion* with Noise and Clamour; and was afterwards, when the *Athenians* better understood themselves, condemn'd for his pains.

he should so much oppose the Liberties of the People. When he came to the Bar, they would not give him leave to plead his own Cause, but, after a slight Formality of Justice, publickly condemn'd him, and deliver'd him to the *Eleven*, to whom, according to the Custom of the *Athenians*, the publick Execution of the Traitors does belong. As he was drawn to the Place of \* Execution, one *Emphyletus*, formerly an intimate Acquaintance, meets him; and with Tears in his Eyes cry'd out; O Phocion! *How unjust and unworthy are these Punishments thou endurest? They may be unjust*, reply'd the Prisoner; *but they are not in the least unexpected; for very many Eminent Athenians have gone this way to their Deaths.* The Odium of the Moblie was so violent, that no Freeman durst bury him: Therefore his Body was interr'd by Slaves. \*

## T H E

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\* 'Twas on the nineteenth Day of *March*, which was a Festival in Honour of *Jupiter*, that the Punishments might be more exemplary.

† *Plutarch* says, that one *Conopin*, a common Officer, burnt his Body, and that an old Woman gather'd up his Bones, and buried them with this Wish: O Athenians! *when you return to your Wits, give these Bones a more honourable Burial.* It happen'd accordingly; for within a short time finding their Error, in taking off so brave a Man, they reversed the Sentence, solemnly interr'd his Body, erected a Statue in Honour of him at the publick Cost, and condemn'd or banished all that had any Hand in his Accusation.



THE  
L I F E  
O F  
TIMOLEON.

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Done into *English* by Mr. Cary, M. A. of  
St. Mary-Hall, Oxon.

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**T**IMOLEON, a *Corinthian* born,  
was without doubt, in the ge-  
neral Esteem of the World, a  
very eminent Man ; for he had  
the Happiness, to which few or none could  
arrive, of freeing his native Country from  
the Oppression of a Tyrant, of redeeming  
the City of *Syracuse*, to whose Assistance he  
was sent from a long continued Bondage,  
and of restoring all *Sicily* to its former Condi-  
tion, which had been long harrass'd by War,  
and the inhumane Usage of the \* *Barbarians*.  
But in the managing of all those Affairs he  
met with many different Adventures ; and,  
K 4 what

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\* The *Carthaginians*.

what is thought to be the hardest Encounter of the two, he behav'd himself rather the more discreetly in his Prosperity, than in his Adversity. For when his Brother *Timophanes*, who was made General by the *Corinthians*, by the help of his mercenary Soldiers had invaded the Sovereignty, and *Timoleon* might have had a share in the Royalty with him, he was so far from abetting any such piece of Villany, that he put a much greater Value upon his Fellow-Citizens Liberty, than he did upon his Brother's Life; and look'd upon himself infinitely more oblig'd to live in Obedience to the Laws of his Country, than to rule over it. Being a Man of these Principles, he contriv'd to have his Brother the Tyrant murder'd by a certain Soothsayer, and another who was related to 'em both, as having married their own Sister both by Father and Mother. In which Murder he was so far from having any hand, that he would not so much as look upon his Brother's Bloodshed. For while the thing was putting in Execution by them, he took a Post at a distance, that none of his Life-Guard might come to his Rescue. This notable Action of his was not look'd upon by all with the same Eyes; for some took it to be a Breach of Piety, and by a sinister Interpretation represented the whole Matter as unwarrantable: Nay, his Mother, after this, would never let him

come

come within her Doors, nor as much as admit him into her Presence; but, out of a Detestation of the Fact, would brand him with the Name of unnatural Assassin of his Prince, and Brother: At the hearing of which Words he was so mightily concern'd, that he had sometimes Thoughts of being his own Executioner, and, by embracing Death, to abandon the Sight of an ungrateful World.

In the mean while, after *Dion* was slain at *Syracuse*, *Dionysius* made himself again Master of the Town; but they of the contrary Party petition'd the *Corinthians* for Succour, and desired a General over their Forces. In which Expedition *Timoleon* was sent, and with wonderful Success beat *Dionysius* quite out of *Sicily*, yet spar'd his Life, when it was in his Power to have taken it away; and took particular care to see him safely convey'd to the City of *Corinth*, which had been frequently supported by the Aid and Assistance it receiv'd from both the *Dionysii*: Of which Favour *Timoleon* was willing to leave a Memorial, esteeming that Conquest much more honourable, which had in it more of Mercy than Cruelty. In a word, he sent him thither alive, that the World might not receive it by Tradition only, but be Eye-witnesses, what a Personage he had reduc'd from so great an Empire to so mean a Condition. After *Dionysius's* Departure,

*Timoleon* engaged in a fresh War with *Ictas*, who had acted contrary to *Dionysius's* Interest, not so much out of Dislike or Hatred of his Tyranny, as out of private Interest; as was plain from his Unwillingness to quit his Command, when *Dionysius* was deposed. *Ictas* being defeated, *Timoleon* routed a very formidable Army of the *Carthaginians* at the River *Crimeffus*, and oblig'd them to rest contented, if they might be permitted to live quietly in *Africk*, who for many years past had been in Possession of *Sicily*. Besides all this, he took *Mamercus*, an *Italian* Commander, Prisoner, a very warlike Man, and one of great Interest, who had come over into *Sicily* to the Assistance of the Tyrants.

These things being happily atchiev'd, and finding, by a long Continuance of War, that not only Countries, but Cities also were depopulated, he drew together all possible Recruits, first of the *Sicilians*, then of new Planters which he brought over from *Corinth*, because the City *Syracuse* was by them originally founded. To the old Inhabitants he restored their own: He divided among those of the new Plantation the Estates of such whose Owners had been lost in the Wars; he repaired the ruined Cities, and demolish'd Temples; he erected anew the several States upon their old Laws and Liberties; and, after a most dreadful

ful War, settled so great a Peace and Quiet through the whole Island, that he might rather be taken for the Founder of those Cities, than they who had at first planted them. The Citadel of *Syracuse*, which *Dionysius* had fortified, on purpose to block up the Town, he raz'd from the very Foundation, slighted all other Bulwarks of Tyrannical Government, and did what in him lay, that as few Marks of Bondage as could might remain. Having so great Power, as that he could have extorted Obedience from them; and again, being such a Favourite of all the *Sicilians*, that he might have come to the Crown by a unanimous Consent, he chose rather to be belov'd than fear'd. Therefore as soon as conveniently he could, he laid down his Command, and pass'd the remaining part of his Life there, as a private Person. And this was not done unadvisedly; for he maintain'd that Grandeur and Authority thro' a mutual good Will, which other Princes could never compass by Force. Every Man paid him constantly a very great Respect, and no publick Business was ever after transacted at *Syracuse*, of which any Decree was made, before *Timoleon's* Sense of the Matter was understood. No Man's Counsel was ever preferr'd before his, nor as much as stood in Competition with it: And so to do, was not more their Affection than Wisdom.

When he was grown old, he lost his Eyesight; which Affliction he bore with so much Patience, that he was never heard to complain of it, nor was yet less useful in private Concerns or publick Affairs: For he came to the *Theatre*, when the People met there in Council, drawn by a pair of Mules, by reason of his Infirmities, \* and so from the Coach deliver'd his Opinion concerning the Matter in debate, which no body look'd upon as a piece of Pride in him; for never did any thing like Insolence or vain Glory come out of his Mouth. If at any time he had heard himself magnified, he would only reply, that he did signally bless the Gods, and was bound upon that particular Account to be always thankful, for that, when the Gods were graciously pleas'd to raise *Syracuse*, they made Choice of him as their unworthy Instrument; for he thought that no humane Actions were brought to Perfection without an over-ruling Providence. And therefore he erected a private Chappel in his House to *Fortune*, where he with much Constancy and Zeal paid his Devotions.

Besides this most excellent Temper of his, several remarkable Accidents concurr'd to render him famous: For all his most memorable Battles happen'd to be fought up-

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\* He was aged, blind, and had the Gout.

on the Day on which he was born ; so that it fell out, that all *Sicily* made their Anniversary Feasts on his Birth-day. When one *Laphystius*, an inconsiderable, saucy, and ungrateful Fellow, requir'd Stipulation of him for an Appearance, under Colour of an Action that he had against him ; and the Multitude flocking together, endeavour'd forcibly to curb the Pretender's Insolence ; *Timoleon* beseech'd them to desist ; alledging, that he had gone thro' great Hardships, and extream Dangers, chiefly upon the Account, that *Laphystius* and others might enjoy their Liberty. For the true Nature of Freedom is, that any one may try out whatever Cause he has by due Course of Law. When another Fellow, much like *Laphystius*, *Demaneus* by Name, in a Harangue before all the People assembled in Council, had detracted from the Glory of *Timoleon's* Actions, and had sharply inveigh'd against him, he made no other Answer, but that he now found that his Prayers were heard ; for he had ever made it his humble Request to the Gods, that the *Syracusians* might enjoy such a Liberty, whereby every one might be free to speak his Sentiments of whom he pleas'd. When he dy'd, he was interr'd at the publick Charge of the *Syracusians* (in an Academy, which had its Denomination from him) all finely attending his Funeral.

*An Account of the most famous KINGS.*

**T**Hese were in a manner all the *Grecian* Commanders, whose Memory deserves to be perpetuated, excepting such as were Kings: For I purposely omit them here; because all their famous Acts have been related in a distinct Treatise already: Nor indeed were there very many of these.

*Agefilaus* the *Lacedæmonian* had rather the Title of a King than the Power, which also may be said of the other *Spartan* Kings. Among those who possessed the Imperial Power, the chief Place, I reckon, is due to *Cyrus* King of the *Persians*, and *Darius* Son of *Hystaspis*, who, from a private Station, rais'd themselves to the Empire by their own Worth. *Cyrus* was slain in Battle by the *Massagetes*; *Darius* expir'd in old Age. There were three others of the same Stock, viz. *Xerxes* and the two *Artaxerxes's*; the one named *Macrochier*, or *Longimanus*; the other *Mnemon*. The greatest Glory of *Xerxes* was, that he invaded *Greece* both by Sea and Land with the most prodigious Armies that ever were heard of. *Longimanus* was much admir'd for being a proper and handsome Person, and this set off with warlike Bravery beyond Imagination, being the stoutest and strongest Man in *Persia*; but *Mnemon* was most renowned for his Justice, in that  
when

when he lost his Wife by the wicked Practices of his own Mother, his Grief for the former did not transport him into Forgetfulness of his Duty to the latter. Of these, the two *Artaxerxes's* died by Diseases; the third, *viz. Xerxes*, was murdered by *Artabanus* the Prefect.

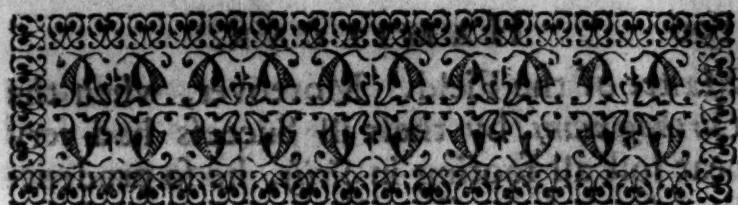
Among the *Macedonians* there were two, who far outshone all the rest in the Glory of their Atchievements, *viz. Philip* the Son of *Amyntas*, and *Alexander* the Great. *Alexander* died of a Distemper at *Babylon*: *Philip* was slain by one *Pausanias* at *Ægæ*, near the Theatre, as he was going to see the Sports. There was but one King of *Epirus* of any Note, *viz. Pyrrhus*, who warr'd against the *Romans*: He was kill'd by a Blow of a Stone, as he was besieging a Town in the *Peloponnesus*. Also one there was of *Sicily*, *viz. Dionysius* the first, a Man of good Courage and expert in War; and, which is a Rarity in Kings, was not addicted either to Uncleanneſs, Luxury, or Avarice, or to any inordinate Passion, but only that of absolute and perpetual Dominion; in pursuit of which he was very cruel, and spared no Man's Life whom he did but suspect to be in a Design against him: With great Valour he got the Sovereignty, in great Prosperity he kept it, and at above sixty Years of Age he left a flourishing Kingdom behind him; and, what  
is

is very remarkable, in so many Years space he never saw a Funeral in his own Family, tho' he had Children by three Wives, and a very numerous Off-spring.

There were also many Kings of the Favourites of *Alexander* the Great, who arose presently upon his Death. Among these were *Antigonus*, and his Son *Demetrius*; *Lyfimachus*, *Seleucus*, and *Ptolomy*. *Antigonus*, fighting against *Seleucus* and *Lyfimachus*, was slain in Battle: In like manner was *Lyfimachus* slain by *Seleucus*; for after they had been Confederates, they fell to War between themselves. But *Demetrius*, after he had given his Daughter in Marriage to *Seleucus*, (which yet could not keep them fast Friends long) was taken Prisoner, the Father-in-law by his Son-in-law, and in that Condition he died.

Not long after, *Seleucus* was treacherously kill'd by *Ptolomy Ceraunus*, to whom he had given kind Protection when he was expell'd *Alexandria* by his own Father, and destitute of all Help; but the same *Ptolomy* is reported to have been put to Death by his own Son, to whom in his Life-time he had deliver'd up his Kingdom. But having said enough of these, it may seem fit in the next place to take some notice of *Hamilcar* and *Hannibal*; who were two such Instances of Greatness of Mind, and a profound Wisdom, that nothing was ever born in *Africa* that came near them..

T. H. E.



THE  
L I F E  
O F  
HAMILCAR.

Done into *English* by Mr. *Brideoke*, M. A.  
of *Trinity College, Oxon.*



HAMILCAR, a *Carthaginian*,  
firnam'd *Barcas*, the Father of  
*Hannibal*, at the latter end of  
the first *Punick War*, tho' then  
very young, was constituted  
Generalissimo of the Forces in *Sicily*. In  
which Employment he behav'd himself so  
well, that (tho' before his time the *Carthagi-  
nian Army* was always worsted both by  
Sea and Land) he still kept his Ground,  
and was so vigilant, that his Enemies could  
never find him unprovided; but on the  
contrary, when Opportunity serv'd, would  
fall upon them, and always made himself  
Master

Master of the Field. Moreover, when the *Carthaginians* by their ill Success had very near lost all footing in *Sicily*, he so prudently defended the City *Eryx*, as not to leave the least Sign of a War behind him. But in the interim, *C. Lutatius*, the then *Roman* Consul, having beaten the *Carthaginian* Fleet at the Islands *Ægates*, the *Carthaginians* resolv'd to conclude the War, and to that end made *Hamilcar* their Plenipotentiary; who, tho' naturally more inclin'd to War than Peace, yet in that Juncture of Affairs he preferr'd Peace; because his Country, being then poor, could no longer endure the Hardships and Expences of War: Yet he reserv'd this to himself, that as soon as the *Carthaginians* were a little refresh'd, again to renew the War, and by Arms oppose the *Romans*, until Fortune had determin'd the Conquest. With this Resolution he concluded the Peace; in the settling whereof he was so stout, that when *Catulus* refus'd to sign the Articles, unless he, with the whole Garrison of the City *Eryx*, would depart *Sicily* without their Arms; he bravely and sharply reply'd, that tho' his Country, being poor, could yield him no Assistance; yet he would rather die, than return to his home with such Ignominy and Reproach: For it would not consist with his Valour, tamely to deliver up to his Enemies those Weapons which were com-

committed to his Trust for the Defence of his Country. Upon this his Resolution *Catulus* comply'd.

But *Hamilcar*, so soon as he arriv'd at *Carthage*, found the Commonwealth in a Condition worse than he expected. For by the long Continuance of the foreign War, intestine Discords were so much heighten'd, that *Carthage* was never in the like dangerous Condition, unless when it was quite raz'd and demolish'd: For the mercenary Soldiers, (who were Twenty thousand strong, and who had formerly fought against the *Romans*) revolting, drew all *Africa* to their Party, and likewise besieged *Carthage*. By which great Misfortune the *Carthaginians* were so terrify'd, that they sought for Aid and Protection from their greatest Enemies, the *Romans*, and obtain'd their Request. But in fine, when they were almost reduc'd to the utmost Extremities of Misery and Despair, they voted *Hamilcar* their General; who not only made those Rebels, who were above Twenty thousand, to raise their Siege from before *Carthage*; but also forc'd them to that Extremity, that, shutting them up in Places where they were void of all Relief, more perish'd by Famine, than were kill'd by the Sword. He brought back again the revolted Towns to their former Duty and Obedience; and, amongst the rest, *Utica* and *Hippo*,

*Hippo*, the two wealthiest Cities of *Africa*. Neither was he satisfied with this; but he also enlarg'd the Empire, and all *Africa* was so settled, that none could imagine that there had been any War there for many Years before.

These things being finish'd by him so successfully, out of a courageous and an exasperated Mind against the *Romans*, and that he might more handsomely pick a Quarrel with them, he contriv'd, that he himself should go Commander with an Army into *Spain*, taking along with him his young Son *Hannibal*, then, but nine Years old. With him march'd *Hasdrubal*, that beautiful and brave Youth, whom some think to have been belov'd too much by *Hamilcar* in a manner not allow'd to his Sex; for great Men seldom escape ill Men's malicious Tongues. And upon this Account, the Youth *Hasdrubal* was forbid by the Censor to attend the General. But *Hamilcar* giving his Daughter in Marriage to *Hasdrubal*, found out that way, as the best Expedient of enjoying the Youth's Company; for their Laws did not forbid the Son-in-law to converse with his Father. I thought this Passage worthy of my Notice; because when *Hamilcar* was kill'd, he commanded the Army, and was successful in many remarkable Exploits; and, during his Command, by large  
Gifts

Gifts he so corrupted the ancient Manners of the *Carthaginians*, that after his Death *Hannibal* receiv'd his Power from the Army.

*Hamilcar*, after he had cross'd the Sea, and enter'd *Spain*, with great Success undertook vast Designs: He subdu'd the most warlike, and the wealthiest Countries; and furnished all *Africa* with Men and Horses, Arms and Money. But as he was designing a War on *Italy*, in the ninth Year after his Entrance into *Spain*, fighting against the *Vettones*, he was unfortunately slain. His implacable Hatred against his Enemies the *Romans* was the chief Cause of the second *Punick War*; for his Son *Hannibal* was so exasperated by the daily and repeated Conjurations of his Father, that he often declar'd, that he had rather perish, than not try the Courage of the *Romans*.

THE

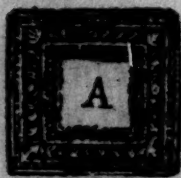


THE  
L I F E  
O F  
H A N N I B A L  
THE  
C A R T H A G I N I A N,  
THE  
Son of H A M I L C A R.

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Done into *English* by the Honourable  
Mr. *Leopold William Finch*, Fellow of *All-  
Souls College, Oxon.*

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S'tis a Truth of undoubted Cer-  
tainty, that the *Romans* did ex-  
ceed all other People in Bravery;  
so likewise must it be confess'd,  
that *Hannibal* was as far above all other  
Commanders for his Wisdom and Conduct,

as

as the *Roman* Valour was more eminent than that of all different Nations. For, during the whole Time that *Italy* was the Seat of his Action, Success continually waited on his Arms; insomuch, that had not the Envy of his Enemies at home unfortunately hinder'd his Progress abroad, he seems to have been sufficiently able to have made an absolute Conquest over the *Roman* Empire. But too numerous were his detracting Foes, to be encounter'd by the Gallantry of a single Person. He so improv'd the Hatred that his Father bore the *Roman* Nation, and which was in a manner hereditary to him, that he would sooner have parted with his Life, than in the least have abated of his Aversion to that People. For tho' he lay under the unhappy Circumstances of a banished Man, and consequently was obliged to foreign Princes for their Assistance; yet he never ceas'd (at least in his Intention) to wage War with the *Romans*. Not to instance in King *Philip*, (whom he render'd an Enemy to that Nation, tho' he had not the Advantage of consulting with him in Person) he possess'd King *Antiochus*, a Prince of the greatest Strength and Power of those Times, with so eager a Desire of making War upon them, that he rais'd the whole Force of his Empire, as far as the *Red-Sea*, with a Design to invade *Italy*. To this *Antiochus* it was that Ambassadors were sent from

from Rome, to the intent they might inform themselves of his Resolutions, and use all possible Endeavours, by underhand Policies, to bring *Hannibal* into Suspicion with the King, by assuring him, that (as if they had withdrawn him from his Fidelity) he now espous'd a quite different Interest than he had formerly served. They effected this with no small Success, as *Hannibal* soon perceiv'd, when he found that he was turned out of the Privy-Council; so that at a convenient time he first waits on the King; and having put him in mind of his great Loyalty to him, and his Hatred to the Roman People, he added over and above: *When I was a Boy of about nine Years of Age, my Father Hamilcar being upon his Departure from Carthage, as General into Spain, offer'd up Sacrifice to the Great Jupiter; during which Solemnity, he asked me, whether I would bear him company to the Camp: Which when I readily accepted of, and began to importune him, that he would not scruple to take me along with him; I will (says he) grant your Request, provided you will take an Oath, which I shall propose to you. Upon which he led me to the Altar, where he design'd to sacrifice: And when (according to Custom) I had laid my Hands upon it, the rest of the Company being at a Distance, he commanded me to swear, That I would never be in Friendship with the Roman People. This Oath, which my Father then gave me, I have preserv'd*

so inviolably to this very Day, as not to give any Man the least Ground of suspecting, but that I shall be ever of the same Disposition. So that now if you entertain any Thoughts of contracting any kind of Friendship with the Romans, 'twill be your wisest Course to conceal it from my Knowledge; but, on the other hand, whenever you design a War with them, you will very much mistake your Measures, if you do not principally commit the Management of it to my Hands.

'Twas at this Age he accompanied his Father into Spain; after whose Death *Hasdrubal* succeeding as General, the Command of the Cavalry was confer'd upon him; and *Hasdrubal* not long after being murder'd, the Army unanimously chose him in his Place: an Account of which no sooner reach'd *Carthage*, but it was receiv'd with the publick Approbation of the State. Thus *Hannibal*, not yet twenty-five Years of Age, was actually General of all the *Carthaginian* Forces; and within the Space of three Years after, subdued all the Countries of Spain: He took *Saguntum* (a City in Alliance with the Romans) by Storm: He rais'd three vast Armies; one of which he sent into *Afric*, another he left with his Brother *Hasdrubal* in Spain, and the third he commanded in Person into *Italy*. He pass'd the *Pyrenean* Mountains; and all along as he march'd, having frequent Encounters with the Inhabitants, he conquer'd all he

L fought.

fought. Coming at last to those *Alps* which divide *Italy* from *Gallia*, the Inhabitants oppos'd his Passage, which he soon laid open by cutting them in pieces. He was the first Man that ever led an Army over these Mountains, except *Hercules* the *Grecian*, from whose Passage they took their Name. Here *Hannibal* open'd the Way, and fortified the Pass, making so great an Alteration, that the Elephants, together with their Furniture, could march conveniently in that very Place, where before a single Man, tho' unarm'd, could scarce creep along. From hence leading his Forces into *Italy*, he had an Encounter on the River *Rhone* with *P. C. Scipio* the Consul, and put him to flight. He fought him likewise near the River *Po* for the Town *Clastidium*, where *Scipio* himself was wounded, and his Army utterly routed. He had a third Battle with him and his Colleague *Tiberius Longus*, who advanc'd towards him near the River *Trebia*, where he engaged them, and defeated them both. Marching at length through *Liguria*, he cross'd the *Apennine* Hills, intending for *Hetruria*. In this March he was extremely afflicted with a Distemper in his Eyes, to that degree, that he could never recover the perfect use of his right one again. But notwithstanding his Indisposition was such, that he was forc'd to be carried in a Litter, he obtain'd a very  
signal

signal Victory over *C. Flaminius* the Consul at the Lake \* *Thrasimenus*, where having circumvented him by Ambush, he cut him off with his whole Army. In a short time after, he serv'd *C. Centenius* in the same manner, who, with a chosen Party of Men, had possess'd himself of the Tops of the Mountains. He came from hence into *Apulia*, where the two Consuls, *C. Terentius Varro*, and *Lucius Paulus Æmilius*, advanc'd towards him, and in one Battle he routed both their Armies; in which Engagement *Lucius Paulus* the Consul was kill'd, with many more who had sustain'd that Dignity; amongst whom was *Cn. Serilius Geminus*, who had enjoyed it the foregoing Year. After this Action, he march'd to *Rome* without any Opposition. He halted for some time on the neighbouring Mountains, and in a few Days after decamp'd from thence. In his Return to *Capua*, *Q. Fabius Maximus*, the Roman Dictator, oppos'd himself to him in the *Falernian Field*. Tho' the Streights were so very narrow, that *Hannibal's* Army was perfectly shut up; yet by the Advantage of the Night he got away without any Damage. Here it was that he outwitted that subtle Commander *Fabius*: For in the dead of the Night he commands

L 2

his

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\* Now call'd *Lago di Perugia*.

his Soldiers to set fire to the Boughs of Trees, which he had before order'd to be fasten'd to the Horns of a considerable Number of Oxen, which he drove in a Hurry upon them. This unexpected Sight was no sooner beheld, but it put the Roman Army into such a Consternation, that not a Man offer'd to stir out of his Trenches. A few Days after he defeated *Marcus Minucius Rufus*, General of the Cavalry (whose Command at that time, by the Votes of the People, was made equal to that of Dictator) whom he had cunningly decoy'd into a Battle: And tho' he was not present at the Action, (as being then in *Lucania*) yet at a distance he laid an Ambush for *Titus Sempronius Gracchus*, the second time Consul, and slew him; as he did *Marcus Claudius Marcellus*, who had five times bore that Office. 'T would be a tedious Work to give a distinct Relation of each particular Action; so that this short Account shall suffice to shew the World how extraordinary a Person he was: That so long as he was in *Italy*, no Man was able to resist him in Battle; neither durst any one after the Defeat at *Canna* make Head against him in the Field. Being thus far a Conqueror, he was employ'd in the Management of the War against the Son of that *Scipio*, whom he had formerly beaten on the Rivers of *Rhone* and *Po*, having likewise defeated him near the River *Trebia*.  
But

But the Affairs of his Country being in a desperate Condition, he was very willing (in a Conference with *Scipio*) to put an end to the War at present, that he might be in a better Condition to renew it. Accordingly they had an Interview; but the Conditions propos'd were such as could not be agreed upon: So that in a few Days afterwards he fought him at *Zama*; in which Battle *Hannibal* being utterly routed, with incredible speed, in the space of two Days and two Nights, arriv'd at *Adrumetum*, which is three hundred Miles distant from *Zama*. In this Flight the *Numidians* (who quitted the Battle at the same time with *Hannibal*) conspir'd against him; but he had not only the good Fortune to avoid their Treachery, but to suppress them. Here he rallied together all those who had sav'd themselves by Flight; and new Musters being made, in a few Days he list'd a considerable Number. While he was thus earnestly employ'd in making Preparations for a War, the *Carthaginians* conclude a Peace with the *Romans*. *Hannibal* notwithstanding had the Command of an Army, and (together with his Brother *Mago*) was in Action in *Africk*, till the time that *P. Sulpicius* and *Caius Aurelius* were Consuls: For 'twas during their Magistracy, that the *Carthaginian* Embassadors were sent from *Carthage* to *Rome*, to return Thanks to the Senate and People

for the Peace they had granted ; and, in consideration of the Favour, to present them with a Golden Crown ; intreating them withal, that their Hostages might be remov'd to *Fregellæ*, and their Prisoners restor'd. To whom the Senate gave this Answer, That as their Present was very grateful and acceptable to them, so likewise they consented, that their Hostages might be lodg'd where they had desired ; but that their Captives should by no means be releas'd, because they still employ'd *Hannibal*, (the Author and Beginner of the War, and the irreconcilable Enemy of the *Roman* Name) with his Brother *Mago*, in the chief Command of their Armies. They no sooner receiv'd this Answer, but *Hannibal* and *Mago* were recall'd home again. *Hannibal* at his Return was chosen Prætor, after he had been King twenty-two Years : For as it was customary at *Rome* yearly to elect two Consuls, at *Carthage* two Kings were annually chosen. He acquitted himself in this Employment with the same Prudence as he did in War ; for he took care, that the new Imposts should not only furnish Money for the Tribute paid to the *Romans*, but that some over and above should be left to lay up in the Exchequer. The Year after his Prætorship, Embassadors arriving at *Carthage*, *Hannibal* suspecting they came to demand him, privately takes his

his Ship, before they could have Audience of the Senate, and flies to King *Antiochus* in *Syria*; which when the *Carthaginians* knew, they immediately sent out two Ships, with Orders to apprehend him, if they could overtake him; which not being able to effect, they confiscated his Goods, raz'd his House to the very Ground, and proclaim'd him a banish'd Man. In the Consulship of *Lucius Cornelius* and *Quintus Minutius*, (which was three Years after his Departure from his own Country) he cruis'd for some time about the Coast of *Cyrenaica* with five Ships, endeavouring to perswade the *Carthaginians* to renew the War, upon the Confidence of *Antiochus's* Strength, whom he had already perswaded to invade *Italy*: Then he engaged his Brother *Mago* in the Design, of which the *Carthaginians* being inform'd, they us'd him with the same Severity they had inflicted on his Brother. Thus their Affairs being in an ill Condition, they set sail for *Asia* to King *Antiochus*. There are two different Accounts given of the Death of *Mago*; some Authors affirming that he perish'd by Shipwrack; others, that he was murder'd by his own Servants. Had *Antiochus* hearken'd to *Hannibal's* Counsel, as well in the Management of the War, as he had done in the undertaking it, the Decision of the Empire of the World might have been nearer the River *Tiber* than the

Streights of *Thermopylae*. But notwithstanding this great Commander well understood the Imprudence of his Conduct, yet he would never forsake him in any Enterprize. He was made Admiral of a small Fleet, with Orders to convey them from *Syria* into *Asia*: With this he engaged the *Rhodian* Navy in the *Pamphylian* Sea, which being very much superior to him in Number, his Party was beaten; tho' that Squadron which he himself fought in, had the advantage of the Enemy. After the Defeat of *Antiochus*, *Hannibal* fearing lest he would deliver him up to the *Romans* (as certainly he would have done, had not he prevented him) went into *Crete* to the *Gortynians*, that he might have time there to consider how to dispose of himself hereafter. And here, out of his extraordinary Subtilty, he foresaw he should be in great Danger, by reason of the covetous Humour of the *Cretans*; for he brought a considerable Sum of Money with him, the Rumour of which he knew was already spread abroad. This therefore was his Device: Having fill'd a great Number of Vessels with Lead, and covering the top of them with Gold and Silver, he places them in the Temple of *Diana*, in the Presence of the *Gortynians*; pretending that he committed his whole Fortune to their Trust. After he had put this Cheat upon them, he fills up several Brass hollow Statues (which  
he

he had brought along with him) with his Money, and throws them negligently in the outward Court. In the mean time they guard the Temple with the greatest Strictness; not so much suspecting other People, as fearing lest *Hannibal*, without their Knowledge, might remove the Prize he had committed to them. Thus our *Carthaginian* having sav'd his Treasure entire, and finely deluded the People of *Crete*, he came at length to *Prusias* the King of *Bythinia* in *Pontey*; where he still preserv'd his old Inclination towards *Italy*, and made it his Endeavour to engage the King against the *Roman* People. But when he perceiv'd he was not strong enough of himself to oppose them, he associated other Kings, and warlike Nations, in a Confederacy. *Eumenes*, as being a great Friend to the *Roman* Interest, refus'd to join in the Alliance; so that they maintain'd a War with each other both by Sea and Land: But being back'd by the *Romans*, he was infinitely too hard for them. Now *Hannibal* perceiving how necessary it was for the better Success in his Affairs, that *Eumenes* should be cut off, he resolves upon this way to rid himself of him. They were in a short time to engage at Sea; but *Hannibal* being overpower'd in Number, Stratagem was to supply the place of Strength. Accordingly he charges his Men to get as many poisonous

Serpents as they could, and put them into Earthen Vessels; of which they procur'd (as commanded) a considerable Number. On the Day that they were to fight, having call'd his Seamen together, he gave them Order, that they should all rush together upon the Ship in which *Eumenes* was, and that in the mean time they need not doubt, but that they were able enough to defend themselves from the rest, since they were provided of so great a Number of Serpents. It should be his Business to shew them which was the Ship he would have assaulted, and likewise to reward the Person who should either kill the King, or take him Prisoner. After he had given these Directions, the two Fleets being set in Order, and about to engage, that his Soldiers might plainly see where this *Eumenes* was before the Sign was given, he sends out a Messenger in a small Boat, having a white Wand in his Hand, as a Token of Peace. When he was come near to the Fleet, he shews them a Letter, and asks for the King; upon which he was immediately conducted to him, every one taking it for granted, that *Hannibal* had sent him to treat of Peace. The Messenger, having thus discover'd to his own Party which was the King's Ship, returns again. When *Eumenes* had broke open the Letter, he found nothing contain'd therein, but what tended to Laughter and Contempt of his

his Person. He very much wonder'd what the meaning of this should be, which tho' he could not understand, without any more ado he engages the Enemy. At the very first Onset, the *Bythinians*, according to their Orders, rushing on all together, beset *Eumenes's* Ship, who being not able to withstand their Shock, sav'd his Life by Flight; which he could never have effected, had he not betook himself to his Guards in the neighbouring Shore. When the rest of the Navy of *Eumenes* began more fiercely to attack the *Bythinians*, they pour'd in their Vessels upon them; which at first the Enemy only laugh'd at, who could not devise what their Intent could be: But when they perceiv'd that their Ships were full of Serpents, being affrighted with the Strangeness of the thing, and knowing not what Danger chiefly to avoid, at last they tack'd about, and made to their Port: So that the Cunning of *Hannibal* was too powerful for the Force of the *Pergamenan* Navy, who by the same kind of Stratagem had frequently obtain'd great Victories at Land. While these things were transacting in *Asia*, King *Prusias's* Embassadors (then at *Rome*) being accidentally at Supper with *Caius Quintus Flaminius* the Consul, some body accidentally happening to mention *Hannibal's* Name, one of the Company said, that he was in their Kingdom. The next Day *Fla-*

*minius* acquaints the Senate with what had been affirm'd by this Person; who imagining that they should be never free from Treacheries so long as *Hannibal* was alive, dispatched Embassadors into *Bythinia*, (one of which was *Flaminius*) who were to demand of the King, that he should not protect their most inveterate Enemy, but forthwith deliver him up into their Hands. *Prusias* could not deny but that *Hannibal* was in his Dominions, tho' he refus'd himself to betray him to the Embassadors; desiring that they would not request any thing which was so much against the Laws of Hospitality; but let them take him if they could, who without any Difficulties might find him out. *Hannibal* constantly confin'd himself to one Place, being a Castle, with which the King had presented him as a Reward for his Services, which he so contriv'd, that he had Sallies on all sides, through which he might escape if he should have occasion; for he always suspected that that would befall him, which at last did really happen. The *Roman* Embassadors, accompanied with a great Number of Men; having at length surrounded this Castle on all parts, his Servant perceiving them from the Gate, runs to his Master and acquaints him, that there appear'd a more than usual Company of armed Men; upon which he commands him to go round all

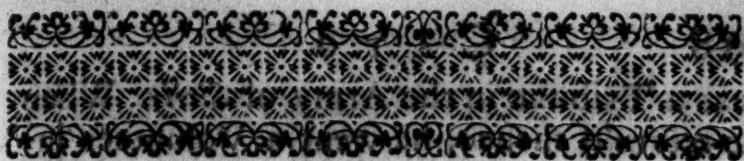
all the Doors of the House, and speedily bring him word whether there was any way to escape. When the Boy had immediately acquainted him how the Case stood, and had farther assur'd him, that all the Passages were stop't, he was soon satisfied that this could not happen by Accident, but that they came to seize his Person; and that consequently he could not long enjoy his Life, which he was resolv'd should not be in another Man's Disposal: Upon which he immediately swallow'd a Dose of Poison, which he was always accusom'd to carry with him. Thus, this our most valiant Hero, harras'd with numerous and various Labours, repos'd himself in Death, the seventieth Year of his Age. Authors do not agree in whose Consulship he died: For *Atticus* in his *Annals* affirms, that *Claudius M. Marcellus*, and *Q. Fabius Labeo*, did then bear that Office: *Polybius* on the other hand asserts, that it was in the time of *Lucius Æmilius Paulus*, and *Cn. Ælius Tamphilus*: But *Sulpicius*, different from both, says, that *P. Corn. Cathegus*, and *Marcus Babius Tamphilus*, were at that time Consuls. Tho' this our great Man was always employ'd in the Business of War, yet he bestow'd some time in Learning: For he wrote several Books in the *Greek Tongue*; amongst which, one is an Account of the Actions of *Cn. Manlius Volsus* in *Asia*, which he dedicated to

to the People of *Rhodes*. Many there are who have given an Account of the Wars of *Hannibal*; among which were *Philenius* and *Sofilus* the *Lacedæmonian*, who were his Fellow-Soldiers, and liv'd with him as long as Fortune permitted. He made use of *Sofilus* as his Master, to instruct him in the *Greek Tongue*.

But now it is time for me to make an end of this History, and proceed to the giving an Account of the *Roman* Generals; that, comparing each others Virtues, we may be able to make an Estimate which were the braver Men.



T H E



THE  
L I F E  
O F  
C A T O.

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Done into *Engliſh* by Mr. *Edward Robinson*  
of *Merton College, Oxon.*

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*A T O* was a Native of the Corporation of *Tusculum*. While young, before he engaged in publick Affairs, he liv'd in the Country of the *Sabines*, because there was his Estate left him by his Father. *M. Perpenna Censorinus* was us'd to relate, that by the Encouragement and Advice of *L. Valerius Flaccus*, (who was afterwards his Partner both in the Offices of Consul and Censor) he remov'd to *Rome*, and apply'd himself to the Law. When he was seventeen Years old, he list'd himself a Soldier, which was under the Consulship of *Q. Fabius Maximus*, and *M. Claudius Marcellus*. He  
was

was a Tribune in the Army of *Sicily*. When he return'd thence, he went a Volunteer into the Army, under the Command of *M. Claudius Nero*; where he did very good Service in the Battle of *Sena*, in which *Hasdrubal*, *Hannibal's* Brother, was slain. He was by Lot chose Questor to *P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus* the Consul, with whom he did not live in that Friendship which the Duty of the Place requir'd: And no wonder, considering the whole Course and Bent of his Life was so contrary to that of *Scipio's*. He was made *Ædile* with *C. Helvius*. When he was *Prætor*, he had the Province of *Sardinia* allotted him for his Government: From whence some time before (when he was Questor) as he was returning out of *Africk*, he invited and brought along with him *Q. Ennius* the Poet; which was a Prize of no less Value, than the greatest Triumph *Sardinia* could afford. He was Consul with *L. Valerius Flaccus*: He gain'd by Lot the Government of *Hispania Citerior*; from whence he return'd loaden with the Honours of a Triumph. He continu'd in this Province something longer than was usual; upon which, *Scipio Africanus*, who was now again Consul, (and whose Questor *Cato* had been in his former Consulship) endeavour'd to remove him, and succeed in it himself. *Scipio* was then the greatest Man in *Rome*; yet was his Interest not strong enough to gain this Point  
of.

of the Senate; *because, at that time, Affairs were not govern'd by Power, or the Sway of a Faction, but according to the severe Rules of Justice.* But this Disappointment so disgusted Scipio, that when that Session of the Senate was ended, he retir'd from publick Employment, and liv'd privately in the City. Cato being elected Cenſor with the foremention'd Flaccus, behav'd himself in that Office with a great deal of Rigor. He cenſur'd ſeveral of the Nobility, publiſh'd new Edicts to reſtrain the Growth of Luxury, which at that time began to ſhow its ſelf in its Buds. He ſpent about eighty Years, from his Youth to the laſt Days of his Life, in the Service of the Commonwealth; in all which time, the ſincere Purſuit of the Intereſt of the Commonwealth continually rais'd him many Enemies; which he ſo little valu'd, that the Fear of no Man's Diſpleaſure could influence him ſo far as to alter his Meaſures. Very many there were who fram'd Accuſations againſt him, which were ſo far from injuring his Reputation, that his good Name grew as faſt upon him as his Age. He was a Man of great Conduct and Application in Buſineſs: He was a ſkilful Husbandman, a good Statesman, a good Lawyer, a great General, a perſwaſive Orator, and none more addicted to Learning. He did indeed apply himſelf to Letters ſomething late; yet was there ſcarcely any thing in the *Greek or Roman*

*Roman* Literature that he did not perfectly understand. From his Youth he exercis'd himself in the composing Orations. When he was old, he entertain'd himself with writing History; of which he left seven Books: The first contains the Actions of the *Roman* Kings; the second gives an Account of the founding and beginning of each City in *Italy*; upon which Reason possibly he entitles his Books *Origines*. In the fourth, he gives a Relation of the first *Punic* War; and in the fifth, of the second: And of all these Things he has only given us the Heads or Matter of Fact, without engaging the particular Circumstances of Affairs. After the same manner he wrote the rest of the *Roman* Wars, even to the Prætorship of *Ser. Galba*, who has the Infamy of pillaging of *Lusitani* fix'd upon his Name. In these his Chronicles of the Wars, he did not mention any Commanders; but, without any Names at all, gave us the naked Event of Things. We have given a more particular Account of his Life and Manners in that History, which at the Request of *Titus Pomponius Atticus* we wrote on purpose concerning him, to which we remit the Lovers of *Cato*.

THE  
LIFE  
OF  
ATTICUS.

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Done into *English* by Mr. Morgan of  
St. John's College, Oxon.

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**P**OMPONIUS ATTICUS was descended of one of the most ancient Houses in Rome, and the Dignity of a Knight was deriv'd down to him from his Ancestors, being an Honour inherent in his Family. His Father was an industrious Man, and very indulgent towards him; was of a Genius accommodated to the Times, and very studious. As he was a Lover of Learning himself, so he infus'd those Inclinations into his Son; for he train'd up his Youth in all those Sciences which his tender Age was capable of: But the Lad, besides a great Docility of Wit, had an extraordinary

traordinary Sweetness of Aspect and Elocution ; so that he not only quickly apprehended what was taught him, but pronounc'd it too with a very agreeable Cadence. These Attainments so early disclosing themselves, got him an high Reputation , and dazzled his Co-temporaries ; for he gave brighter Hopes of himself than those other young Gentlemen who were his School-fellows could look steadily upon ; so that his Forwardness of Example pik'd them all with generous Incitements : Amongst whom were *L. Torquatus*, *C. Marius*, *Caius's* Son, and *M. Cicero* , whom he so gain'd to him by the obliging Air of his Conversation, that no Person was always so dear to them as he himself. His Father died in a little time, and he being very young, run a great hazard, by reason of his being related to *P. Sulpitius* , who was kill'd when he was Tribune of the People. For *Ancia* , who was Cousin German to *Pomponius* , married *Servius*, who was Brother to *Sulpitius* : Therefore after *Sulpitius* was slain , and he saw the City embarrass'd with the Commotions of *Cinna* , so that he could not live with that Port which became his Quality, (for the Interests of the Citizens were divided, some addicting themselves to the Faction of *Cinna*, and others to that of *Sylla*) thinking it a fair Opportunity to follow his Studies, he went to *Athens*. But this did not  
hinder

hinder but that he bestow'd Money upon young *Marius*, who was declar'd an Enemy to his Country, and supply'd him when he was a Fugitive; and that his withdrawing from *Rome* might not prejudice his Domestic Affairs, he convey'd the greatest part of his Fortune along with him thither. Here he liv'd after that manner, that he was peculiarly belov'd by all the *Athenians*: For, besides the Credit he had acquir'd, which was very great for a young Man, he reliev'd them in their publick Exigences; for when they were to take up Money of the Bankers upon any great Payments, and could not obtain equitable Conditions, he always so seasonably interpos'd, that as he demanded no Interest for the Sums he disburs'd, so he would not let them owe longer than the time they promis'd to refund them. And this procur'd them a double Advantage; for he would neither suffer the Debt to grow upon them by his Forbearance, nor the Usury of it to be multiply'd. He made an Accession to this Courtesy by another piece of Liberality; for he distributed Corn amongst them all, and gave to each of them six Bushels of Wheat, which sort of Measure is call'd *Medimnus* by the *Athenians*. Here his Carriage was so adjust'd, that as he was familiar to those below him, so he was equal to those of the first Quality. This had that grateful Influence upon them,

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that

that they would have confer'd all the Honours upon him they possibly could, and made him a Citizen; but this Offer he refus'd; because, according to some Mens Opinion, he that is made a Denizon of another City, forfeits the Freedom of his own. Whilst he liv'd amongst them, he always oppos'd their Design of erecting a Statue to him; but he could not hinder it when he was gone; so that, in his Absence, they celebrated the Memories of him, and *Pilia* his Wife, by this lasting sort of Remembrance, even in the most consecrated Places of the City; for in every Concern of the Commonwealth they always followed his Conduct and Advice. Therefore it was a Partiality of Fortune to him, to be a Native of *Rome*, which was the Seat of the Empire of the World, and that which was his Country was his Mistress too, to whom he was constant in his Observances: And it was a glorious Instance of his Wisdom, that when he went to *Athens*, which claims the Preheminence above all other Cities for Antiquity, Humanity and Learning, they should make Choice of him amongst all Mankind to be their Darling. When *Sylla* came here out of *Asia*, as long as he tarried, he had always young *Atticus* in his Company; for he was extremely charm'd with his good Parts, and the Sweetness of his Humour; for he spoke *Greek* so perfectly, that he seem'd

seem'd to be born in *Athens*, and had that delicious Fluency in the *Latin* Tongue, that it was very apparent, that the Smoothness of it was natural to him, and not acquir'd. He would repeat Poems in both Languages so that nothing could exceed him. This so endear'd him to *Sylla*, that he would scarce let him be out of his sight; and he had a great Desire to have brought him away along with him; but when he endeavour'd to perswade him to it, *Pomponius* return'd him this Answer: *Do not, Sir, carry me to fight against those, upon whose Account I left Italy, that I might not bear Arms against thy self.* But *Sylla* praising the young Man for the good Offices he had done him, order'd, when he went away, that the Presents which were given, whilst he was at *Athens*, should be carried to his House, as the Token of his Thankfulness. Here he remain'd many Years; and tho' he bestow'd as much Inspection upon the Affairs of his House, as became the Diligence of one that was Master of a Family, and spent the rest of his time either in Study, or managing the Business of the *Athenians*; yet he continued his Kindness to his Fellow Citizens: For he canvass'd at all their publick Elections, and when any thing of Importance was transacted, he was never wanting in his Solicitations. To *Cicero* he shew'd himself singularly faithful in his last Extremities; for when he was forc'd to abandon his Country,

try, he gave him \* two hundred and fifty thousand *Sesterces*: But when all these Turbulences were quieted, and the *Tyber* ran calmly, he return'd home; and, as I think, when *L. Cotta* and *L. Torquatus* were Consuls. The Day of his Departure the whole City of *Athens* so deplor'd, that by the Tears of their Sorrow they express'd the Greatness of the Love they had for him. He had an Uncle whose Name was *Q. Cecilius*, a Roman Knight, an intimate Friend of *L. Lucullus's*, and very rich; but he was otherwise of a morose Nature, and difficult to be pleas'd: But *Atticus* so soften'd his Temper, which was intolerable to every one else, that he gain'd his good-Will, and retain'd it even to a decrepit Age: And then he reap'd the Fruits of that Piety, with which he cultivated his sour Humour; for he adopted him, and made him Heir to all that he had; which Inheritance amounted to ten † Millions of *Sesterces*. The Sister of *Atticus* was married to *Q. Tullius Cicero*, and *Marcus* his Brother was a great Promoter of the Match; between whom and *Atticus* there was a Familiarity, even from their being School-fellows together, and a closer Friendship maintain'd than with *Quintius*; that

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\* Two thousand eighty three Pounds six Shillings and eight pence *English Sterling*.

† Eighty three thousand three hundred thirty three Pounds six Shillings and eight pence *Sterl*.

that from hence we may form a Judgment, that in the Unions of that Society, the Resemblance of a like Disposition prevails more than Affinity. *Hortensius* too was his bosom Friend, who at that time had the chief vogue for Eloquence; so that it was a Matter utterly undecided which lov'd him best, either him, or *Cicero*. By this means he solv'd an Inconsistence in these two Orators, which was a thing not easy to be attempted; for tho' there was a strong Contrast betwixt them for Applause, yet they never broke out into any Revilings of one another, but both agreed in esteeming him. He so comported himself in the Commonwealth, that as he was always of the best side, so he had the luck to be thought so: But he never was a Party in the Civil Wars; for it was his Opinion, that those who embark in Quarrels of that Nature, have no more Ascendant over themselves when the Waves of Sedition work high, than those who commit their Fortunes to a Tempest. He never was ambitious of any Honour, tho' the Access was easy to his Pretensions, not only by reason of his Credit, but his Quality. He saw that Men were not so fair Candidates for it as their Fore-fathers; they being so profuse in their Bribes to gain Votes, that the Offices of the Commonwealth could not be undertaken, and the Laws kept inviolate; nor could they be dis-

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charg'd

charg'd without Danger, there being such a general Corruption of Manners, which epidemically run through all the City. He never was a Purchaser of any Goods that were sold by Outcry; and as he never farmed any of the publick Revenues, so he never was a Surety for them who did. He never manag'd a Criminal Process against any one, nor subscrib'd to another's Accusation; for he never went to Law, nor had ever any definitive Sentence. When many Consuls and Prætors offer'd him Governments, he would not follow any of them into their Provinces; but contenting himself with the Honour of the Proposal, he rejected the Profits of it. He denied to go with *Q. Cicero* into *Asia*, tho' he might have been his Lieutenant-General; for he did not think it decent to be in subordinate Authority to a Prætor, who had refus'd the first Dignity it self; and by this means he not only consulted his Honour, but his Ease likewise, and avoided the least Umbrages of a Crime, that he might live unsuspected. The Result of this Caution was, that the Assistances he paid his Friend were the more acceptable, because they were sincere, when they were the Effects only of a Readiness to oblige, and could not be imputed to such servile Motives as Hope and Fear. When he was about sixty Years old, the civil War of *Cæsar* burst out into a Flame; but he enjoy'd the

the Privilege his Age indulg'd him, and never stir'd out of the City: But those of his Friends who went over to *Pompey's* side, he furnish'd their Expeditions out of his own Store; but *Pompey* could not think he disregarded, if he did not actually join him himself; for he had not receiv'd any Advantages from him, which might encourage him to it, as others had done, who by his countenancing them were become powerful and rich; some of whom followed his Camp, but with regret and very unwillingly; and others ungratefully tarried at home, which very highly offended him. But the Neutrality of *Atticus* was so grateful to *Caesar*, that when he was Conqueror, and dispatch'd imperious Mandates to private Persons to command their Money from them, he not only not molested him, but pardon'd his Sister's Son which she had by *Quintius*, tho' he was of *Pompey's* Party. Thus by keeping firm to those first Maxims of Conduct he laid down for the Regulation of his Life, he preserv'd himself safe from all new and emergent Dangers: Consequent to this, when *Caesar* was slain, and the Commonwealth seem'd to be devolv'd into the Hands of *Cassius* and *Brutus*, the Fortune of *Rome*, like a Machine, turning about toward him; yet he so caress'd *Brutus*, that the young Man never delighted in any one's Company, tho' he was of the same Age with himself, with

that Pleasure as he did in that of the venerable *Atticus* ; for he not only admitted him into his most intimate Councils, but enjoy'd his Conversation at all his Repasts. There was a Project set on foot, that a Fund of Treasure should be constituted by the *Roman* Knights for the Murderers of *Cesar*. They thought the Design very feasible, if the Chief of that Order would contribute their Shares towards it : Whereupon *C. Flavius*, who was a great Friend to *Brutus*, apply'd himself to *Atticus*, that he would be a principal Mover in this Business ; but he, who did Courtesies to those he respected, without engaging in their Factions, and had always a Temper untainted from Designs of that Nature, made this Answer : That if *Brutus* wanted any Supplies, he would accommodate him out of his own Money to what Value he pleas'd, but that he would never discourse with any Man about the Business, nor accord with him in it ; so that the united Sentiments of a whole Party were ruin'd by his single Dissent. A little while after *Anthony* began to have the upper-hand, and *Brutus* and *Cassius* (the Affairs of those Provinces which were given them by the Consuls, only for Form-sake, becoming desperate) were forc'd to fly for it. But *Atticus*, who never employ'd his Money to support the other Party when they

they were most flourishing, sent an \* hundred thousand *Sesterces* to *Brutus* when he left *Italy*, and was broken in his Fortunes : And when he was at *Epire*, he order'd † three hundred thousand more to be given him, himself being absent; and as he never the more flatter'd the Power of *Anthony*, so he never forsook those who were brought to a Precipice. After this followed the War of *Modena*; in which, if I should only call him prudent, I should detract from his Character, and speak less than I ought to do. He was rather divine, if a constant natural Goodness deserves that Appellation, which is neither shaken nor lessen'd by outward Accidents. *Anthony* being declar'd a publick Enemy, was forc'd to leave *Italy*, and there was no Hopes of being restor'd; for not only his Adversaries, which were very many, and in a great Power, combin'd against him, but his Friends join'd themselves to that Number, and revolted from him : They placed all their Hopes of Advancement upon his Depression; they persecuted his most intimate Friends; they endeavour'd to spoil his Wife *Fulvia* of all her Goods, and extirpate his Children. *Atticus* as he was familiar with *Cicero*, so he

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\* Eight hundred thirty three Pounds six Shillings eight pence *Sterling*.

† Two thousand five hundred Pounds *Sterling*.

was a great Friend to *Brutus* : By this means he not only restrain'd them from committing any Outrage upon *Anthony* himself, but he protected as many of his Confederates which fled out of the City, as much as he possibly could, and supply'd them with all things they stood in need of. He was so kind to *P. Volumnius*, that greater Tenderness could not be expected from a Father : And he was so diligent in his Services to *Fulvia*, when she was harass'd with Law Suits, and vex'd with melancholy Apprehensions, that she never enter'd into any Obligation without *Atticus* ; for he was her Stipulator in every thing ; particularly when in her prosperous Condition she had bought a parcel of Land, which was to be satisfied for to a Day, and now, since this Calamity befel her, could not take up Cash enough upon her own Credit to discharge the Purchase, *Atticus* came in opportunely to redress the Grievance ; for he lent her Money without Interest, or so much as prefixing a Day when it should be repaid ; for he reckon'd himself the greatest Gainer by the Reputation of a grateful and obliging Man ; and thereby made it appear, that he did not contract an Acquaintance with Mens Fortunes, but their Persons. And tho' these were his Actions, yet no one could imagine he did them out of any temporising Principle ; for it could not rationally enter into any one's

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Opinion, that *Anthony* would ever recover that Game of Empire he seem'd so utterly to have lost: But every now and then he receiv'd secret Checks from some of the Nobility, objecting to him, that his Hatred was not intense enough against such profligate Citizens. But he, confiding in his own Judgment, had a Regard rather to what ought to be done, than what other Men would commend, whether it was right or no. For the Scene of Fortune swiftly chang'd; and when *Anthony* return'd into *Italy*, every one was in Pain for *Atticus*; for they thought he must be involv'd in great Risks, by reason of the strict Communication that was between him, and *Brutus*, and *Cicero*: Therefore when the Triumvirate approach'd the City, he went out of it; for he fear'd Proscription, and absconded in the House of *P. Volumnius*, to whom he was so eminently serviceable, as we have shew'd before. So capricious was the Turn of Affairs in those Times, that sometimes one Party, and sometimes another, would either be in the Height of Prosperity, or the Abyss of Misfortune. He was not alone in this Retirement; but *Q. Gellius Caninus*, who was of the same Age, and resembled him in the Customs of his Life, was the Companion of his Obscurity. And this is another Instance of the good Nature of *Atticus*, that he liv'd so lovingly with him, whom he

knew from his Childhood, and was his Play-fellow; for their Friendship grew up with their Years, and lasted even to an extreme old Age. *Anthony*, tho' he was so inveterately angry with *Cicero*, that he not only declar'd open Enmity against him, but threaten'd all his Abettors, and was resolv'd to proscribe them; yet when many made Remonstrances to him in the behalf of *Atticus*, and he himself call'd to mind the Engagements he had formerly laid upon him, he as suddenly relented; so that he writ to him with his own Hand to know where he was, bid him not be afraid, but that he should immediately come to him, for that he had struck him and *Gellius Caninus* out of the Number of the Proscrib'd. Besides, he sent him a Guard to assure him in the Darkness, and free him from the Dangers of the Night. By this means his Fears were dispers'd, and he not only secur'd himself, but was an Instrument of Safety to the Man who was next dear to him: For he never solicited to be out of Trouble alone, but in Conjunction with his Friend, that by this it might appear, that Men, who love one another, are not to be divided in their Fortunes. If that Pilot therefore deserves Applause who steers his Ship in a Winter Sea, when the Season is as rough as the Ocean, why should not his Prudence merit a particular Encomium, who arriv'd  
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at Safety through so many civil Broils and such Storms in the State? When he had work'd himself out of these Distresses, he was intent upon nothing else than how he might assist as many as he could, and in what things he was able. When the Triumvirate set a Price upon the Heads of the Proscrib'd, that the Prospect of a Reward might encourage the Rabble to a Search, there was not any one who fled into *Epire*, who wanted for any thing; and he gave them liberty to make it their perpetual Residence. Besides, after the Battle at *Philippæ*, and the Slaughter of *C. Cassius* and *M. Brutus*, he was resolv'd to shelter *L. Julius Mocilla* the Prætor, and his Son *Aulus Torquatus*, and the rest who were beaten down with the same Stroke of Fortune: And he commanded likewise Supplies to be sent them when they retir'd out of *Epire* into *Samothracia*. It is very hard, and indeed not necessary, to run minutely through all his Actions. This only I contend for, and which ought to be understood, that his Liberality was not cover'd over with any sinister Design, nor was it to humour the present Current of Affairs. This may be concluded from the Things themselves, and the Complexion of those Times: For he never sided with the Prosperous, but always succour'd those who were in Affliction; for he was as assiduous in his Respects to *Servillia*,

the Mother of *Brutus*, after the Death of her Son, as when he was living and most happy. Being so generous, he could not well provoke any to be his Enemy; for he never offer'd an Injury; and if another was the Aggressor upon him, he chose rather to forget than revenge the Affront: If he receiv'd a Civility, the Impression of it was immortal, never to be effac'd; but if he conferr'd one, it easily fell out of his Mind, till he that was oblig'd renew'd the Memory of it by his Acknowledgments. Doing after this manner, he confirm'd the Truth of that Saying, *That every one owes his lucky Hits to the Conduct of himself*: But the making his Fortune was the last thing in his Intention: He first form'd his Manners as a previous Qualification, and with such an exquisite Niceness, that he might not justly be charg'd with any thing that was culpable. By this means it came to pass, that when *M. Vipsanius Agrippa*, who was the Favourite of young *Octavius*, might have had his Choice out of the Ladies of the best Condition in *Rome*, by reason of his own Credit, and the Power of *Cesar*; yet he was ambitious of being related to him, and desir'd rather to marry the Daughter of a *Roman Knight*, as the nobler Alliance. The chief Manager of this Match (for it is not to be conceal'd) was *Anthony*, who was one of the *Triumvirate* for settling the  
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Commonwealth. Being shin'd upon by his Favour, he might have made large Additions to his Estate; but he was so little infected with the Love of Money, that he never us'd it but in those Occasions where his Friend was to be freed from Danger, and eas'd of any thing that incommoded him. An illustrious Instance of this was in the Time of the Proscription: For when the Triumvirate had sold the Goods of *L. Sauscius* a Roman Knight, according to the Custom which then obtain'd, who was of the same Age with himself, had resided many Years at *Athens* to study Philosophy, and had noble Lordships in *Italy*, *Atticus* carried himself in this Business with so much Industry and Address, that the same Messenger who brought him word that he had lost his Patrimony, contradicted his own News, by telling him, that he had recover'd it again. He likewise clear'd off *L. Julius Calidius*, who, I am bold to affirm, after the Death of *Lucretius* and *Catullus*, was the most elegant Poet of his Time: He was no less famous for the Integrity of his Morals, and his being educated in all the best Arts. This Man, after the Knights were proscrib'd, tho' he was absent, yet he was brought into the Number by *P. Volumnius*, who was Overseer of the Workmen of *Anthony*; and his great Possessions in *Africa* made him obnoxious to this Punishment:

So that it made it a puzzling Question, whether there was more Difficulty in the Undertaking, or Glory in the Performance. But it was a Character of *Atticus* generally known, that it was his Care as much to relieve his absent Friends, as those that were present; and he was as good a Father of a Family, as he was a Citizen: For tho' he was a great money'd Man, yet no one was so moderate a Purchaser, nor built less than he did; not but that he liv'd very commodiously, and what things he serv'd himself of, they were the best of their kind. His House was situate in the *Quirinal Hill*, which was an Inheritance left him by his Uncle, whose Pleasantness did not consist in the Curiosity of the Structure, but in the Wood that encompass'd it: For being a Pile rais'd after the antient manner, it had more of Conveniency in it than Beauty; and he never made any Alterations, but where the Decays by the Injury of Time requir'd to be repair'd. His Family, if we judge of them by their Usefulness, was extraordinary: but if we regard only the outward Appearance, it was scarce tolerable; for it was made up of Lads who were very good Scholars, could read excellently well, and writ delicate Hands for transcribing; and there was scarce any Foot-boy but could do either of them to Admiration. All the Artificers too, whose Art was necessary for the  
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the adorning his Apartments, were the choicest of their Profession. And there was not one of them but was born and run thro' the Novitiate of their several Trades in his House; which was a Sign not only of his Moderation, but great Industry: For not to be intemperate in our Desires after those things which others so eagerly covet, is a great Contineny of Temper; and to acquire that by Diligence which others are at an Expence for, argues a more than ordinary Application. *Atticus* was rather polite than magnificent: He did all things for his Honour, but without any Excess of Cost: He was always clean and neat, but did not affect an effeminate Niceness. As for his Moveables and Furniture, they were competently rich, and did not abound; so that he avoided the two Extreame of being stingy and profuse. I will not omit one thing, tho' to some it may seem a matter of light Importance: That tho' he was one of the most splendid of the *Roman* Knights, and receiv'd Men of all Conditions at his House with a liberal Hospitality; yet he spent no more than just \* three thousand Asses a Month; as appears by the Register of his Disbursements. And this I do not speak by Hearsay, but as a thing I am certain of; for,  
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\* Equivalent to ten Pounds *Sterling*.

by reason of the Familiarity betwixt us, I was conversant in the Family, was at the casting up of the Accounts. He had no other Consort at all his Feasts, but only a single Reader; which in my Opinion was the most ravishing Musick; nor did he ever sup without one of these Lectures, that whilst their Appetites were regaled, the Minds of the Guests might be entertain'd with something more diverting; for he never invited any one to his Table, but in whom he discern'd a Disposition conformable to his own. Tho' Riches flow'd in upon him, yet he never heighten'd his daily Provisions, nor deviated from the former Measures of his Life: For he was so moderate, that when he was worth but \* twenty hundred thousand *Sesterces*, he did not live ingloriously, which was the Estate left him by his Father; so when it amounted to † ten Millions, he did not raise his Port to any greater Affluence than what he first design'd; for he kept unalterably to the same Pitch in either Fortune. As for his other Recreations, he had no Gardens with Par-

terres,

\* Sixteen thousand six hundred sixty six Pounds thirteen Shillings and four pence *Sterling*.

† The Sum Total is One hundred thousand pounds *Sterling*. For these Reductions of the *Roman* Coin to the *English* Standard, I am obliged to the learned Mr. *Wase*.

terres, nor no delightful Place to take the Air in the Suburbs. He had no sumptuous *Villa* near the Sea-shore, nor indeed in all *Italy*, except it were at *Ardea* and *Nomentum*, which were only two Country Farms: And all the Revenues he had, consisted in the Lands he had at *Epire*, and some Possessions in the City; from whence it may be known, that he did not make his Estimate of Money by the immense Quantity, but the rational Use of it. As he was always a Man of strict Veracity himself, so he abhor'd lying in another; therefore his Courtesy was mix'd with somewhat that was austere: And he was affable, but grave; so that it was hard to say, whether his Friends lov'd or reverenc'd him most. Whatever was intreated of him, he would promise solemnly to do it: for it was his Opinion, that he was not a generous, but an inconstant Man, who would engage for that which he was not able to perform. He was so industrious in bringing an Affair to a Result, which he had once espous'd, that he seem'd to transact his own Concern, and not another's, which was deputed to his Management: And when he had once undertaken a Business, he was unwearied in his Pursuits; for he thought his Reputation was interest'd in it, of which he was jealous even to a Delicacy. By this means he solicited the Business of *Marcus* and *Quin-*

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*tius Cicero*, of *Marinus*, *Cato*, *Hortensius*, *Aulus Torquatus*, and many other Roman Knights: From whence we may infer, that it was an Effect of his Judgment, and did not proceed from any unactive Temper, that he declin'd the publick Functions of the Commonwealth. A greater Instance of the Complaisance of his Humour cannot be given than this: That when he was a young Man he was very agreeable to *Sylla*, who was in the Decline of his Age; and when himself was old, *M. Brutus* extreamly delighted in him, who was in the Bloom of his Years. He liv'd so amicably with his Cotemporaries *Hortensius* and *Cicero*, that it is hard to say to which Age his Genius was most adapted; but *Cicero* lov'd him the most fervently of the two, for it was to the last degree of Affection; so that his Brother *Quintius* was not dearer or more familiar to him. The real Evidences of it, besides those Books in which he makes mention of him, which are already publish'd, are those sixteen Volumes of Epistles which he sent to *Atticus* from the beginning of his Consulship even to his latter Days; which whosoever reads, he will not desire a more connected History of those Times: For in them the Inclinations and Designs of Princes, the Faults of Generals in their Conduct, and the Revolutions of the Commonwealth, are so perspicuously trac'd out, that all the

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Intrigues of State are unravell'd, and the Springs of Policy seem to lie open ; so that from hence we may conclude, that Prudence is a sort of Divination : For *Cicero* not only pointed out all the Accidents of his own Time, but with a brisker Heat of Prophecy foretold all the Events which have happen'd since, and we sensibly experience. What need I commemorate any thing more of the Piety of *Atticus*, when I heard him glorying thus justly of himself, in the Funeral Oration he made upon his Mother, whom he buried at ninety Years of Age, himself being sixty-seven, That he never had any Occasion to be reconcil'd to her ? And no Difference ever happen'd betwixt him and his Sister, who was almost of the same Age with himself : Which are manifest Indications, either that no Causes of Dissatisfaction ever arose between them, and so there was no need of Cement, where nothing was broken ; or that he was so kind to his Relations, that he thought it even a piece of Irreligion to be angry with those whom he had all the Obligations upon him to love. And this he did not so much by the tender Instinct of Nature, whose Suggestions we are all obsequious to ; but it was the Effect of his Learning, and he acquir'd it by Study ; for the Precepts of the chief Philosophers were closely impress'd upon him, and they did  
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not serve for Parade and Ostentation ; but he made them useful to him in the whole Course of his Life. He set the Manners of the ancient *Romans* before him as the Patterns of his Imitation, and fairly copied out the great Originals. He was likewise a studious Lover of Antiquity. This Knowledge he intimately convers'd with, and gave large Demonstrations of it in the Volume he wrote of Magistracy, which was a Province he ingeniously adorn'd ; for there was not a Law made, no Peace concluded, nor no War undertaken, not an Action of Consequence done by the *Roman* People, but he hath related it with a strict Chronology, and adjusted every Occurrence to its proper time : And, which seems an Attempt of great Intricacy, he hath interwoven in it the Pedigrees of some Families with so fine a Texture, that by them we may know the Beginnings of those Men who have made any considerable Figure in *Rome*. He did the same thing separately in other Books ; as, at the Entreaty of *M. Brutus*, he deriv'd the *Junian* Family from its first Source, and shew'd all the Channels in which it hath flow'd down even to our Times ; distinctly numbering each one's Predecessor in a true Series of Succession, and relating what Honours they attain'd to, and in what Times they enjoy'd them. He did the like Courtesy for *Marcellus Claudius* con-

concerning the *Marcelli*; and, at the Instances of *Scipio Cornelius*, and *Fabius Maximus*, he gave an Account of the *Cornelian*, the *Fabian*, and the *Emilian* Families: And nothing carries with it so endearing a Relish, as these Books, to those who have the least Tincture of Curiosity to be acquainted with the Descents of illustrious Men. He had a Smattering too in Poetry, which I believe was, that he might not be ignorant w<sup>h</sup>at Sweetness there was in it; for if any had arriv'd to a higher Pitch of Dignity beyond the ordinary *Romans*, or had signaliz'd themselves by any notable Performances, he employ'd his poetical Talent to record their Gallantry; for he describ'd their Exploits, and what Charges they had in the Government under each of their Pictures, and this in no more than four or five Verses; which seems a thing almost incredible, that he could comprise Transactions of such high Moment in so narrow a Compass. He writ a Book also in *Greek* concerning the Consulship of *Cicero*. These things we have related of him were whilst *Atticus* was alive. But now, since the Malignity of Fate will have us to outlive him, we will run through the rest of his Actions, and dispatch what remains of this Great Man; that by real and bright Examples we may instruct the Reader, and so confirm that Axiom we have before laid down, *That every*

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one allures Fortune to his Side, according as he manageth himself. For Atticus contenting himself with the paternal Dignity of a Knight, which descended to him, he at last came to be related to the Son of *Julius*, and the Friendship between them was heighten'd into Affinity; for he had before gain'd the Confidence of *Augustus* by the Elegancy of his living: And this was the Inducement by which he attracted others of the chiefest Rank in the City to his Conversation, who were of as noble an Extraction as the Emperor; but their Condition was unequal, because not so prosperous; for Fortune seem'd to fawn upon *Cæsar*; and so constant a Success still follow'd him, that all the Honours she ever decreed to any of her Favourites, she confer'd upon him, and with her auspicious Gales convey'd him to the utmost Honour which the Ambition of a Citizen could aspire to. *Agrippa* made Atticus a Grandfather, who married his Daughter when she was a tender Virgin. This Female Infant, tho' she was scarce a Year old, *Cæsar* betroth'd to *Tiberius Claudius Nero*, which his Wife *Drusilla* had by a former Husband, and was his Son-in-law. This Alliance confirm'd their former Amity, and tied it on with an inviolable Sanction: Tho' before these Esponsals, not only when he was absent from *Rome*, when he writ to any of his Friends, he sent to Atticus even the Mi-  
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nutes of his Life, as what he was then doing, especially what Author he was reading, in what Place he resided, and how long he design'd to tarry there; but he likewise, when he was in the City, and was distracted by Multiplicity of Business, which gave him so great an Avocation, that he could not enjoy him so often as he would, yet the Commerce of the Pen was not interrupted; for no Day pass'd in which he did not by Letter ask his Opinion in some Matters relating to Antiquity, or propose some poetical Question. Sometimes he would be facetious only, and rally him, that the Answers in which he reparteed might be the more prolix; which had this good Effect, That when the Temple of *Jupiter Feretrius*, which *Romulus* built in the Capitol, thro' Age, and People's being incurious of its Repairs, began to threaten a total Ruin, *Cæsar*, by the Perswasion of *Atticus*, took care to support it. *M. Anthony* had him in no less passionate Esteem, and maintain'd an Intercourse with him of this Nature; for when he was banish'd even to the extreme Limits of the Empire, yet he certified his *Atticus* to a nice Punctilio of what he was then upon, and what Design he had in farther Projection. He only is qualified to judge of the Greatness of this Correspondence, who can make a true Estimate what a Piece of consummate Wisdom

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it is to retain the Favour, and reconcile the Jealousies of two great Personages, who were Competitors in the same Ambition, betwixt whom there was not only a bare Emulation, but a perfect Antipathy, which kindled into the mutual upbraiding one another. It was an Aversion as strong as could possibly be between an *Anthony* and a *Cesar*, who would not divide the Globe, but each one contended not only to be Master of *Rome*, but Emperor of the World. Through all these Traverses of Life he at last arriv'd to the seventy-seventh Year, and his Credit and Riches multiplied upon him even to an extream old Age; (for many left him all that they had, purely upon the account of his wonderful Goodness.) But now after he had been of so strong a Complexion, that he had no need of a Physician for thirty Years together, his Health was so entire, he at last contracted a Disease, which himself and his Doctors at first despis'd as a very slight Indisposition; for they thought it to be a \* *Tenesmus*; therefore they administer'd quick and easy Applications, to disperse it in its first Accesses. After he had languish'd three Months, without any more sensible Uneasiness than what he receiv'd

\* This is a fruitless Endeavour of Nature to ease her self, occasion'd by Defluxion of sharp Humours, the which irritate the Sphincter of the Anus.

ceiv'd from the Methods of his Cure, the whole Weight of his Distemper sunk at last into one of his Guts, which broke out afterwards into a very putrid Fistula. But before this Crisis happen'd to him, when he found his Pains to increase, and his Blood grow warm, he order'd his Son-in-law *Agrippa* to be sent for, with *L. Cornelius Balbus* and *Sextus Peducaus*. When he saw they were come, leaning upon his Couch, he spoke to them after this Manner: *What Care I have taken for the Preservation of my Health, since you all can abundantly attest, a Discourse of that Nature will be altogether superfluous. Hoping therefore that I have given you Satisfaction; and being conscious to my self, that I have omitted nothing which carried the least Tendency in it towards a Cure; it only remains now that I more nearly consult my self: And this is the thing I would acquaint you with, that I am resolv'd no longer to nourish my Disease, but starve it; for the Sustenance I have taken these last Days hath protracted my Life indeed, but it hath prolong'd my Afflictions with it, without any Hopes of Recovery. I therefore beg it of you, that you would first approve of my Expedient, and then use no Arguments to dissuade me from it; for it will be all in vain.* He spoke this with such a strong Voice, and such an assur'd Countenance, as if he was not leaving the World, but passing from one House into another. But *Agrippa*, with  
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Tears in his Eyes, kissing him, did not only entreat, but earnestly conjur'd him not to accelerate his Fate himself, but let Nature bring it leisurely upon him; and since there were Remains of Health, which would in Life keep some time longer, that he would suffer himself to survive both for his own sake, and that of his Friends; but he rejected his Importunities with an obstinate Silence. Thus, after two Days rigid Abstinence, his Fever went off without any Paroxysms, and all the Symptoms were manifestly abated; but he thinking it not worth the while to live, would not recede from his first Purpose: Therefore, the fifth Day after he had taken up his fatal Resolution, he departed this Life, which was the Day before the Kalends of *April*, *L. Domitius* and *C. Sossus* being Consuls. His Body was brought forth in a Litter, as he himself had order'd, without any Funeral Pomp; but all the best Men of the City accompanied the Corps, with a numerous Concourse of the common People. He was buried five Miles from *Rome*, by the *Appian* way, in the Monument of *Q. Cæcilius* his Uncle.

F I N I S.

